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Pulling out the stops for a free-trading Europe

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Bonn has been assured that, in its capacity as chairman of the Council of Ministers, all measures it takes towards achieving a single European market by 1992 will get full support from the European Commission.

This emerged clearly at a meeting in Brussels between Chancellor Kohl with six Bonn Cabinet ministers; and the President of the Commission, Jacques Delors, and European Commissioners. Germany chairs the Council of Ministers until the end of June.

It was agreed that prospects are good for the liberalisation of capital markets, the recognition of university degrees, and the opening up of the still strongly protected markets for public-works orders. Progress had *also been made in transport*.

After agreement at the extraordinary Community summit in February on budget-, *agricultural- and structural-policy* reforms, Kohl is keen to show at the next summit in Hanover next month that headway has been made towards a single *common market*.

He said all 12 nations would benefit from ending trade barriers.

Both he and Delors were satisfied with *their meeting. It was the sort of get-together* which helped both the Commission and member governments.

Kohl said if the schedule for a unified *market was kept to, it would be a political* milestone.

There were obstacles in transport policy, but not insuperable ones. Progress *was also possible in the fields of a* European central bank and currency union, where Bonn did have doubts.

But, a European central bank could *not be realised in the immediate future*. It must be the foundation of the common monetary policy.

Delors said he could appreciate Ger*man doubts on transport policy*.

He pointed out that the completion of a unified Community market must not lead to "social setbacks" in the more advanced *Community countries. Europe must travel* at the pace of the fastest, not the slowest.

The trip to the Brussels by Chancellor Kohl and his ministers Hans-Dietrich *Genscher (Foreign Minister), Martin* Bangemann (Economics), Friedrich Zimmermann (Interior), Ignaz Kiechle (Agriculture), Klaus Töpfer (Environment) and Jürgen Warnke (*Economic Cooperation*) followed a visit to Bonn by Delors and the European Commission in April last year.

The meeting in Bonn was marked by differences of opinion over agricultural policy. The Brussels meeting was much more harmonious.

This time both sides reached agreement over the Community's *farm price policy*.

The Community's Agriculture Commissioner Andriesen suggested a "zero round" for most farm products in the Council of Ministers a few weeks ago.

Page 7: Towards 1992 and economic revolution of the century.

Kiechle indicated that, despite a number of misgivings, Bonn would be able to back this price policy.

The harmonisation of television and radio broadcasting *rights in the* Community's twelve member states was one of the key items on the agenda.

Whereas television and radio broad*casting in the Federal Republic of Ger*many falls under the jurisdiction of the *Länder*, the European Commission claims to have an overall competence for *this field — all the more so after the* European Court of Justice confirmed that there must be free movement of services between Community countries.

The corresponding directives have existed for some time, but these are contested in the Council of Ministers and in the European Parliament.

The Commission expressed its doubts *whether the broadcasting laws in individ*ual member states do justice to the principles of a free movement of services and unimpeded competition vis-à-vis foreign *broadcasters*.

The Bonn government and the European Commission agreed that a demarcation of responsibilities in this field should *not founder because of the problem of* including Austria and Switzerland.

Another topic during the discussion was the opposition criticised by Brussels *by Bonn Tranport Minister Warnke to* opening up the market in cross-border road-goods traffic.

Warnke once again explained his pre*viously unsuccessful project of linking* the liberalisation of the market as closely as possible with the harmonisation of the differing tax burdens and social regul*ations*.

As chairman of the Council of Ministers he emphasised that he did not want to relinquish the lever of harmonisation *as a means of putting pressure on other* member states; otherwise the Community's freight contingents would be increased at the expense of German haulage contractors during the coming years *without the tax and social regulations be*ing aligned.

Warnke emphasised that the Federal Republic of Germany is unable to accept *the distortion of competition that would* bring.

The British Commissioner responsible for this field, Stanley Clinton-Davis, *made it clear that the Commission in*tends sticking to its "liberalisation schedule" up until 1992.

Delors and the Commissioners took a keen *interest in the complaints made by* Bonn Environment Minister Töpfer that too little had been done in the field of environmental protection.

*The Commission and the Bonn gov*ernment agreed that efforts must be speeded up in the fields of desulphurisation of coal-fired power plants, cleaning *up vehicle exhaust fumes and banning* spray gas propellants which damage the ozone layer.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 May 1988)

The European common market, planned for 1992, was the main topic when Chancellor Kohl (right) visited Italy for talks with Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita (left). They intend to intensify cooperation in many fields, especially high technology. They discussed the planned European central bank as a possible basis for solving various financial issues. (Photo: AP)

IN THIS ISSUE

Agreement on liberalising capital markets

The 12 European Community finance ministers have now agreed to push through the legal provisions on liberalising capital markets.

And their intention of completing the task before the next European Community summit in June has much political significance.

It will mean that every person and every firm in the 12 countries will be able to buy and sell as much money, property and shares as wanted from any of the 12.

The implications for political union are wide. The Community is slowly developing the characteristics of a single state.

Once there is free movement of capital, every Italian, to take one example, will be able to go from the lira into a stronger currency such as the mark, the guilder or the British pound.

If the Italian government wanted to prevent this, it would have to introduce immediately new capital transaction controls at the country's borders.

This would put an end to the idea of a European Community capital market as well as to Italy's hopes of receiving more investment capital from the other Community countries to boost the economy.

The free movement of capital forces governments in weak-currency nations to maintain monetary stability. One observer said: "It has a disciplinary function so that no state need worry about being weighed down by balance-of-payments burdens."

But common monetary stability requires coordination of economic policies of both governments and central banks.

Norbert Kloten, a member of the Bundesbank's central bank council, recommends a wait-and-see approach to the liberalisation of capital. He says confidence in weak currencies takes time to increase.

Stronger partners will have to help the weaker, with their limited escape clauses and compensatory payments.

By 1983 the Community's structural funds will be doubled to almost DM30bn.

Hermann Bohle

(Bremer Nachrichten, 16 May 1988)

■ THE ALLIANCE

Strauss paints a different picture of the world

In his many party congress and party conference speeches CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss has always clearly outlined his ultimate goal: the victory of freedom in a world in which no political objective can be attained via war.

Strauss would like to see the struggle between the political systems of West and East take place in the arena of (politico-) scientific debate.

His historical visit to Moscow and his talks with the Soviet leadership in the Kremlin indicate that Strauss no longer rigidly adheres to an ideologically biased preconception of the world.

Strauss elucidated the content of his discussion in the Kremlin during a special CSU foreign policy congress in Munich.

He got so bogged down in the details that there was no time left to give the delegates a proper rundown of what he experienced during his recent visit to South Africa.

Bonn Economic Cooperation Minister Hans Klein (CSU) explained during the congress that "foreign policy has a great deal to do with style."

He added: "I would like to point out that the CSU has invited the American ambassador, a good friend of Germany, and not the Soviet ambassador (to the congress). A congress of this kind indicates priorities."

This made it more than clear that the congress, entitled "The Changing Face of World Politics", was not planned as a controversial gathering, but to simply reiterate the familiar CSU stance.

Theo Waigel, chairman of the CSU's regional group in the Bundestag, emphasised that the party must develop a more distinct foreign policy profile.

This indicated the subtle distinctions made by the CSU between a personalised foreign policy by the Bonn government coalition and foreign policy competence.

In a world such as the one Franz Josef Strauss envisions in the not too distant future the USA will still assume the main role.

It will remain the number-one world power, even though a "relative decline in its significance" seems likely.

The ranking of the Soviet Union in the future scenario of world politics primarily depends on Mikhail Gorbachov's ability to push through his ideas.

According to CSU chairman Strauss, the world's leading Communist power faces the choice of either continuing the reform course propagated by the CPSU secretary-general or of "relapsing into stagnation and encrustation."

In the latter case it would degenerate into a "second-class world power", no longer on a par with the USA.

Strauss stressed that new powers are emerging in the Asian region.

He pointed out that no-one could prevent Japan from developing from its position as a major power in the economic field into a major power in the military field, spearheading the other Asian "whizz-kids".

Korea is following hard on Japan's heels.

In the eyes of the CSU leader the Europeans only stand a chance of asserting themselves in this "macrocosm" if they pool their resources.

In his opinion the Germans have no option but to do everything within their power "to spearhead this development within the framework of German possibilities, or at least to move into the group of those nations which take the lead."

He insisted that there is no possibility of negotiating a reunification of Germany with the current Soviet leadership.

Even if the GDR were to be given a status resembling Austria's the Soviet system would collapse.

Strauss emphasised, however, that the Germans must never be forced to sacrifice their freedom as a price for unity.

A solution can only be found to all problems once the demand for freedom for all Europeans have been satisfied.

At the end of the foreseeable development of world politics Strauss is convinced that there will be a "victory for freedom and a decline in systems of coercion."

He described those who feel that the Soviet system is already changing as "utopian pipe-dreamers".

Although Strauss believes that Mikhail Gorbachov sincerely wants change, his efforts to translate these ambitions into action create growing uncertainty in the Soviet Union itself.

Gorbachov's aim is to make the Communist system more efficient, not to abolish it altogether, said Strauss.

The CSU leader compared Gorbachov's task with that of someone trying to fry snowballs.

He supported making Moscow a politically interesting new disarmament offer.

Richart Burt, the ambassador of the USA in Bonn, categorically rejected the idea of a further zero solution in the field of short-range nuclear missiles.

Burt is convinced that as long as the Russian armed forces with their much greater superiority in the conventional field are able to invade the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany the West would become the "hostage of the Soviet Union" without "nuclear artillery".

General Wolfgang Altenburg, chairman of the Nato military committee, called for further defence efforts against the "conventional threat" by Moscow.

He admitted, however, that he hardly dares to make such a statement at a time when "Mrs Gorbachov buys her handbags at Gucci."

Rolf Linkenhell

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 May 1988)

Several sides to arguments of Lafontaine

Saar Premier Oskar Lafontaine (SPD) no longer harps on anti-American sentiment.

Gone are the days when he sent a shiver down the spine of many by demanding that Germany should pull out of Nato and that the West should make unilateral p... concessions on disarmament.

His remarks on security policy today sound much more carefully considered.

He deserves our support, for example, when — with an eye to the European-American relationship in the alliance — he insists that partnership presupposes that both sides respect their respective interests.

It should be possible to discuss his definition of the East-West relationship which could perhaps correspond to a security policy community of interests rather than the security partnership he would like to see.

The arguments he propounds to reject the valid Nato strategy of flexible response cannot be supported.

It cannot be denied that the alliance needs a far-reaching strategy.

However, a new concept must be found first before the old one is discarded.

Lafontaine's arguments are intellectually dishonest when he says that the strategy must be dropped because if the worst comes to the worst it would destroy everything it claims to defend.

Yet the concept was designed precisely to make sure that the worst never does come to the worst. And it has proved its worth over decades.

Lafontaine's strategy will therefore have to be better, since it will have to safeguard what has been achieved.

Walter W. Weber

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 6 May 1988)

New focus on old questions of security and disarmament

Imaginativeness, it seems, is contagious. For a long time only a few people outside the international peace movement seemed willing to accept that the destructive force of nuclear weapons is much greater than mankind can imagine, that it means annihilation and not just defeat.

Ever since President Reagan justified his SDI plans for a protective shield against attacking nuclear missiles by stating that the very threat of nuclear destruction is deeply immoral there has been some general rethinking on defence and security.

The chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag parliamentary group, Alfred Dregger, is a very good example of the implications this can have.

The arguments he forwarded at the Institute of Contemporary History at the Johns Hopkins University in Washington could not have been more unambiguous.

The conservative politician, who certainly cannot be accused of having pacifist leanings, surprised many listeners of the strategic "planning community" by advocating positions which were recently adopted by Social Democrats and Bonn's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP).

This time Dregger decided not to make reference to his remark "the shorter the range of the missile, the deader the German."

This extremely national argument disregarded the fact that, although a nuclear war limited to Europe would initially hit the Germans in both Germanies, it would then affect all other European states too — including all the (European and non-European) soldiers stationed there.

What Dregger presented to his audience as the "German security interest" could easily have been called Europe's security interest.

The fact that a "densely populated country can be destroyed but not defended by nuclear weapons" also applies beyond the borders of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Dregger should emphasise this fact if he wishes to steer clear of accusations that he is trying to seeking a rightwing "special German path" in this field.

Ever since the two world powers drew up their agreement on the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles there have been numerous complaints that this has made it more difficult for the western alliance to formulate its strategy.

This is definitely not the case. The deep-seated problems associated with Nato strategy date back a lot longer.

The supporters of the military status quo were simply unwilling to accept this fact.

The idea that an American president might order a major nuclear strike because of the risk that a conflict in Europe might be lost became an illusion after both world powers developed "second-strike" capability. At that time the Nato strategists should have realised that the strategy of preventing war via deterrence, which was successful for a long time, would one day lose its credibility.

Since then, however, the alliance has been trying to get round this problem and lags behind changes on the international scene.

Mikhail Gorbachov's waxing influence in Moscow and his numerous disarmament proposals have made this dilemma obvious.

Alfred Dregger's primary concern is that the USA could some day pull out of the transatlantic risk community.

He clearly underestimates the USA's interest in Europe — in particular, its interest in its troops stationed there.

However, it is not clear why Dregger did not have the same fears as long as medium-range missiles were stationed in Europe.

Yet it is understandable that he he has the "greatest dislike" of short-range systems with nuclear warheads or nuclear artillery and would like to get rid of them, since they no longer have anything to do with the traditional concept of preventing war via deterrence.

Agreement beyond the constraints of party-political allegiances may develop on this aspect in the Federal Republic of Germany. The CDU politician is not the only one who feels that any strategy of nuclear warfare seeking to limit a conflict to Europe is unacceptable.

This basically means, however, that nuclear weapons can only be viewed as political instruments which must never be employed.

Consequently, Dregger not only wants to conduct negotiations on the modernisation of short-range nuclear missiles, but also take Mikhail Gorbachov at his word.

Negotiations should start by clarifying whether the Soviet Union really is willing to relinquish its conventional superiority.

So much agreement in the security policy of the Federal Republic of Germany has not existed for many years.

Werner Holzer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 May 1988)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Big SPD win 'no mandate for a major upheaval'

The Social Democrats need will to tread carefully now they have been put into office in Schleswig-Holstein in a landslide victory (they increased their share of the vote by 9.6 percentage points to 54.8 per cent to win an absolute majority after 38 years in Opposition). In this article for *Hannoversche Allgemeine*, Wolfgang Wagner says the election was not a mandate for revolutionary upheaval. He writes that a great deal will depend on whether Premier-elect Björn Engholm stays as level-headed as he was during the campaign.

Rarely has a German political party won a *Land* election so convincingly as the SPD in Schleswig-Holstein, where it polled nearly 55 per cent of the vote this month. And rarely has a party had to do so little to win.

The result was a consequence of the disastrous shortcomings of the CDU, which had been in power in Kiel for nearly 38 years.

Most opinion pollsters expected the electorate to give the CDU a trouncing in the wake of the Barschel affair (in which former CDU Premier Uwe Barschel was found dead in a Geneva hotel after denying orchestrating a dirty tricks campaign before an election last year which left a hung parliament). The time had come for a change in Kiel.

The most important question now is what use the victors will make of an absolute majority which resembles the kind of result the CSU always gets in Bavaria.

In the overexuberance of success leftwing Social Democrats will probably feel that it's time for a Kiel-based campaign to change the world.

If demands such as the total phase-out of nuclear energy are accepted by the SPD and its parliamentary group in Schleswig-Holstein sweeping changes can be expected.

The Opposition is simply too weak and demoralised to give much resistance.

A great deal will depend on whether Premier-elect Björn Engholm stays as level-headed and moderate after his election victory as he was during the election campaign or whether he allows himself to be swept along by pressure for far-reaching changes.

There is reason for restraint. Even though the election surpassed all expectations, the Social Democrats should be careful not to draw the conclusion that the voters have given them a mandate for a revolutionary upheaval in Germany's northernmost state.

Clearly, many traditional CDU voters had simply had enough of the wheelings and dealings instigated by Barschel.

The electorate in Schleswig-Holstein has once again proved that it has comprehended the meaning of democracy.

Elections are there to make sure that power *can* change hands; and if a party fails to such an extent as the CDU in Schleswig-Holstein the party in government and the Opposition must reverse their roles.

But the election could not be taken for granted. There was a possibility that many voters would turn to more radical parties in disgust at the democratic system.

The fact that this did not happen in Schleswig-Holstein and that all extremist parties together only got a few per cent of the vote is proof of the maturity of the electorate.

Despite its very heavy losses the CDU can still count itself lucky in comparison with other parties.

The Greens again failed to get into the state assembly, and the FDP was forced out.

The FDP is probably a victim of its own indecision during the period in which investigations were being conducted into the Barschel affair as well as of the fact that the media concentrated on the political battle between the CDU and the SPD. Voters did not view the FDP as a real alternative.

The significance of the landslide result for the whole country should not be overrated. The Social Democrats benefited from the fact that the Bonn government and the Bonn coalition parties are in a bad way.

Debilitated by internal quarrels they were unable to give the both valiant and colourless CDU candidate, Heiko Hoffmann, the kind of support he needed.

So the SPD can, quite rightly, interpret the election outcome as the price Bonn has had to pay for its policies.

However, a low for the parties in government in the second year after a general election is the rule rather than the exception.

It is much too early to infer from this fact that the Bonn coalition or the alliance between the CDU/CSU and FDP is on its last legs.

The result of the election in Schleswig-Holstein does not jeopardise the coalition's majority in the Bundesrat.

The Bonn government, however, is now more dependent on the support of each individual CDU- or CSU-led *Land* than it was before.

One prominent CDU politician will definitely have a few sleepless nights following the Schleswig-Holstein election outcome: Gerhard Stoltenberg.

For many years he ranked as the only conceivable substitute for Helmut Kohl once the time comes to choose a new chancellor or chancellor candidate.

Stoltenberg, who is both Bonn Finance Minister and chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein CDU, has now probably dropped out of the running.

Another prominent CDU politician may be feeling pleased about this: Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 May 1988)

More than just Barschel affair to blame — Kohl

Chancellor Kohl was right when he said that the Pfeiffer-Barschel affair was not the only reason for CDU's disastrous showing in the Schleswig-Holstein election when its share of the vote dropped from 42.6 per cent to 33.3 per cent, putting it out of power in the State for the first time since 1950.

He says the Bonn coalition and it internal quarrels must share the blame. His opinion is not shared by all senior CDU men. The party's business manager, Heiner Geissler, puts the entire blame on the dirty-tricks affair.

Geissler says that the real amount of opposition to the CDU can be judged from the election in September last year when it received 42.2 per cent (this election resulted in a stalemate which was only settled by the SPD win this month). The drop this month to a mere 33.3 per cent, he reasons was purely because of the affair.

In any case, the conservative union (CDU and CSU) now has some difficult clearing-up operations to do.

The party can begin at the mid-June national party congress in Wiesbaden.

Some harsh words are bound to be exchanged.

The ailing CDU in Schleswig-Holstein, whose organisational structure is not good according to party leaders in Bonn, will not be alone in the pillory. The national CDU also has to find its bearings in a changing society.

Kohl must keep control and show voters that the reforms being discussed really will keep the man in the street.

The Bonn government has saddled itself with plenty of work in the form of tax, health and postal reforms.

Normally it takes several parliamentary terms to get through such a load. The government wants to get it all done in one go. Now, it's going to have to.

Karl Hugo Pruys

(Bremer Nachrichten, 10 May 1988)

Social Democrats march on to new psephological frontiers

The achievement of the SPD in attracting almost all the votes lost by the other parties was an extraordinary feature of the Schleswig-Holstein election, says the Infas opinion-research institute. Infas says that never before has the SPD made such inroads into new electoral groups. This article discussing the Infas report was written by the newsagency, *dpa*, and it appeared in the *Rheinische Post*.

Voters in the northernmost state of the Federal Republic of Germany have created a clear-cut political situation.

A more than comfortable majority for the SPD makes sure that there will be no repetition of the parliamentary stalemate which followed the state election in autumn last year.

After nine parliamentary terms in opposition the SPD has won 46 of the 74 mandates in the Kiel state assembly, 19 more than the CDU.

The CDU, whose public image deteriorated rapidly in the wake of events associated with the Barschel affair, had set the tone in Schleswig-Holstein since 1950.

Opinion polls during recent months indicated the plebiscitary character of this election.

Most voters felt that the change was a foregone conclusion.

The content of the election was determined by the media rather than by the parties themselves.

The fact that the politicians kept the Barschel affair out of the campaign did not reduce its significance.

Fairness and political manners became key issues in the campaign, further proof for the voters of the lingering effects of the Barschel affair.

The CDU's election campaign was not completely ineffective.

The Infas analysis of electoral trends shows that the SPD gained 50,000 votes by mobilising of former non-voters.

The CDU lost 30,000 votes due to the fact that voters who voted for the party last time did not go to the polls this time.

Against the trend, the election turnout declined in a number of constituencies in which the CDU was previously particularly powerful. In the SPD strongholds it has tended to increase.

Although during recent *Land* elections parties have often lost over nine percentage points the SPD has never before made such inroads into new electoral groups as in the Schleswig-Holstein election on 8 May.

The fact that one of the big parties was able to pull almost all the votes lost by all the other parties is extraordinary indeed.

A further new aspect is the high percentage of female members of the new state assembly: 17 out of 74 (23 per cent) are women.

The analysis of electoral shifts reveals the overwhelming significance of the almost 90,000 voters who moved on balance from the CDU to the SPD.

The shifts within the conservative-liberal and the SPD-Green sub-groups, on the other hand, are less significant.

There was an interchange of 20,000 votes between the CDU and FDP, the CDU notching a slight overhang of 3,000.

The interchange between the SPD and the Greens led to an increase of just under 20,000 in favour of the SPD.

One of the most striking features of the election outcome is the fact that the FDP was unable to capitalise on the CDU's problems.

Dissatisfied CDU supporters did not regard the FDP as a serious alternative.

Many voters felt that the FDP did not dissociate itself enough from the CDU.

The Greens also had very little scope to boost their electoral appeal. In the environmental and energy fields the SPD also advocates pretty radical policies in Schleswig-Holstein.

Engholm dominated the scene with regard to the question of political style, usually an issue taken up by the Greens.

All findings indicate that the classic issues were not the focal point of in this election and that the vote this time related to the fundamental question of political morality (or the lack of it).

The behaviour of individual voters, therefore, was determined by their basic psychological attitudes rather than their socioeconomic situations.

The outcome of the Schleswig-Holstein election makes it clear that there is also a limit to what a party's traditional voters can take.

Policies pursued by the Bonn government played a special role this time in the Schleswig-Holstein election.

The general political situation was unable to change the minds of doubting CDU supporters anyway.

The fact that the chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein CDU, Gerhard Stoltenberg, is also Finance Minister in Bonn was a twofold drawback.

This made it impossible to distract attention from the scandal in Kiel by pointing to the situation in Bonn.

dpa

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 10 May 1988)

■ THE LÄNDER

Hamburg mayor quits amid speculation about why

The Social Democrat mayor of Hamburg, Klaus von Dohnanyi, this month unexpectedly resigned. Dohnanyi, 59, said he had chosen early retirement. He denied that his decision had anything to do with the long-running Hafenstrasse saga, under which squatters have occupied some houses earmarked for redevelopment in Hamburg's harbour area. The squatters barricaded themselves in with concrete blocks and barbed wire. There were clashes with police (a police helicopter was even shot at at least twice) and Hafenstrasse occupants and sympathisers went on the rampage through the streets, overturning cars and starting fires. Six months ago, von Dohnanyi seemed to have reached a compromise with his conciliatory approach and a way of allowing the squatters to remain was found. But the affair did for a long time put tremendous pressure on Dohnanyi from people urging a tougher stand. Others outside the SPD say that von Dohnanyi, who is on the right of the party, has finally had enough of internal party bickering. The stories on this page appeared in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* and the *Rheinische Post*.

Hamburg's mayor, Klaus von Dohnanyi, (SPD), surprisingly announced his resignation just two days after fellow Social Democrat Björn Engholm led the party to a landslide election victory in neighbouring Schleswig-Holstein.

The reason he gave was equally surprising. He dismissed claims that it was in any way connected with the squatters in Hafenstrasse.

He said that, on the contrary, his decision was made on 20 November, 1987, just after agreement had been reached on a tenancy contract between the squatters and the city of Hamburg.

At the time, very few believed that the mayor would be able to pull off such a feat.

Dohnanyi personally deserves almost all the credit for this politically controversial solution to the problem. He jeopardised his political fate by bringing his entire political influence to bear.

Mayor von Dohnanyi is a man of conviction. During the conflict he always sought a political solution in a bid to avoid the violence of stone-throwing and police truncheons.

The squatters made his life difficult and damaged his reputation. But that alone cannot explain his decision.

The future of the Hafenstrasse is still uncertain; the loss of a politician with such a sense of commitment to a peaceful solution may make it even more uncertain.

Dohnanyi's motives are extremely unusual in the tough world of politics. He is a tired man, worn by the burden of office.

He has had enough of politics and is making use of his right to pull out of politics early and withdraw into private life. This decision does him credit, particularly in view of the fact that many politicians can only stay where they are because they're stuck to their chairs.

Dohnanyi shows how a politician who feels exhausted can leave the political arena with his head held high.

As mayor of Hamburg he was frequently given a rough ride by political friends and foes alike.

Admittedly, he never exactly made life easy for them. Dohnanyi never tried to hide his intellectual superiority; his style of leadership tended to be rather elitarian.

He was always isolated in the Hamburg SPD, frequently wedged between the intrigues and struggles for power between the party's factions.

Many SPD members in Hamburg derived hidden pleasure from everything which damaged Dohnanyi's reputation.

Especially during the Hafenstrasse dispute there was plenty of back-stabbing by members of his own party.

On the whole, Dohnanyi felt very little of the traditional quality of the workers' movement, namely solidarity.

He was constantly obliged to seek new majorities for his policies within the party.

His political friends must share responsibility for his decision to resign.

His resignation, which apparently also surprised most of his party colleagues, may be a beneficial shock to the SPD in Hamburg, which will soon realise what it has lost.

The mayor has picked a good moment to make his announcement.

By keeping his decision secret until after the election in Schleswig-Holstein he prevented possible repercussions for the SPD there.

What is more, his successor has plenty of time to create a distinct image and rally the party behind him before the next election in Hamburg.

Nevertheless, Dohnanyi's resignation is a blow for the SPD.

On the one hand, the move shows that Dohnanyi has been unable to achieve a really big success during his period as mayor.

On the other hand, the party does not exactly possess a host of politicians with his quality of leadership.

A change at the top cannot solve the many problems the city-state currently faces, of which the Hafenstrasse conflict is by no means the biggest.

The city's serious economic problems and the structural crisis in the ports and shipyards weigh more heavily.

Dohnanyi's successor is not to be envied.

Stefan Geiger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 May 1988)



That's it, folks. Mayor von Dohnanyi tells the Press that he has decided to resign. He alone had decided on the timing, he said. (Photo: AP)

Von Dohnanyi, a man with original ideas

It just under 60, Klaus von Dohnanyi has opted for "early retirement" at a time when many people thought he had his sights set on higher things.

An unusual move for a man who was highly acclaimed during recent months for the way in which he solved the problem of the Hafenstrasse squatters.

Dohnanyi was always a man with original ideas.

He grew up in a cultured family and developed a cosmopolitan flair and a love of the arts and music at an early age.

Klaus von Dohnanyi was the son of one of the few true members of the German resistance movement, the German Supreme court official Hans von Dohnanyi, who was executed following the assassination attempt on Hitler on 20 July, 1944.

Protestant theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, also killed by Hitler's thugs, was his uncle.

The young Dohnanyi escaped Hitler's persecution of the Dohnanyi family by hiding in the Ettal monastery in Bavaria.

His brother, Christoph, is one of the world's most famous conductors.

After the war it soon became clear that Klaus was a gifted scholar. At the age of 21 he was already a doctor of law, an extremely unusual academic achievement by German standards.

Dohnanyi, who later became Education Minister in Willy Brandt's government, found it difficult to understand the problems some students seemed to have with regard to limiting the duration of study courses.

Dohnanyi joined the SPD at the age of 29. His career has been a story of ups and downs; civil servant (state secretary), minister in Bonn, minister of state in the Bonn Foreign Office and parliamentary secretary of state.

He has frequently dabbled in business and became involved in regional politics in various parts of Germany.

As opposed to the other "red barons" in the SPD, the barons Peter von Oertzen and Ludwig von Friedeburg, whose ideological experiments as Education Ministers in Lower Saxony and Hesse respectively damaged the party's reputation, Dohnanyi has always favoured a pragmatic approach to politics.

The fact that the events surrounding the spectacular Hafenstrasse conflict in November rang in his decision to resign is the more surprising. *Joachim Sobotta*

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 11 May 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Gathering in The Hague recalls how a certain idea sounded 40 years ago

European flags bedecked the centre of government in The Hague just as they did 40 years ago as leading politicians and public figures from many countries met in the time-honoured Ridderzaal for a European congress.

Their predecessors envisaged a "United States of Europe" without frontiers but with solidarity and cooperation between nations, with a currency of its own and with a powerful European administration.

These are still major objectives of the international European movement, which grasped the initiative and arranged this spectacular anniversary gathering held from 5 to 8 May in the Dutch capital.

European integration has been hard going. One needs only to call to mind the European Community's butter mountain and wine lake to gain some idea of the obstacles to economic integration.

Political integration has progressed little further than the attempt to devise a uniform European passport.

Yet hopes and expectations were high in the early days of the European movement. Over 750 influential representatives of nearly all Western European countries attended the first European congress in The Hague in May 1948.

They included 50 Ministers, ex-Ministers and ex-heads of government. The most outstanding personality at a gathering held to discuss the future of Europe was Britain's Winston Churchill.

In the famous speech he made in Zurich on 19 September 1946 Churchill had given the European movement an extra fillip by advocating a "United States of Europe."

He also said reconciliation between France and Germany must form the basis of what he felt was an indispensable, radical renewal of the European community of nations.

Less than two years later the Hague congress, with Churchill in the chair, gave a major boost to subsequent moves towards European integration. The Hague was, for a brief period, the centre of Europe.

In memory of that gathering heads of state and government, Ministers and other leading politicians met 40 years later in the Ridderzaal.

The May 1988 gathering was not just held to celebrate the 40th anniversary; its main purpose was to consider what Europe would look like after 1992 when frontiers between European Community member-countries had been thrown fully open.

German Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker conveyed a message of greeting on behalf of the 12 European Community countries.

In his speech he emphatically advocated wider powers for the European Parliament and called for cooperation between all European nations "to surmount and throw open the frontiers that pigeonhole us in political systems."

Our freedom, he said, entailed a responsibility for Europe as a whole. Herr von Weizsäcker warned that even though the process of European integration was irreversible there was a risk that it might be bogged down by national egoism, inertia and limited horizons.

He recalled what a powerful sign of hope the first European congress had been felt to be by the Germans 40 years ago.

The lesson they had learnt from the destructions of the old European system of states by Hitler's war was that the future of Europe lay in the abolition of national barriers and the establishment of true European unity.

It was thus understandable that Churchill, the Allied war hero, warmly welcomed the German delegation, including the later Federal Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, and the still later president of the European Commission, Walter Hallstein.

It was, Churchill said, the Allies' proud duty to take the Germans by the hand and lead them back into the family of European nations.

The concept of European integration was yet to be embraced by a wider public. Forty years ago the Cold War was still at its coldest and the Communists had just assumed power in Czechoslovakia.

Was there any way of avoiding a Third World War? Did a Europe divided into East and West still have a future? Would Marshall Aid as offered by the United States in 1947 help to bring about a European economic recovery?

All these anxious questions were raised at the first European congress, but they seemed to be submerged in a wave of enthusiasm.

It was an enthusiasm that no longer exists, but the 1988 congress ended with a joint declaration and message to all Europeans.

It noted that the European Community had fallen dangerously short of completion in view of the growing challenges it faced. Its economic dynamism must be restored and full employment ensured.

President von Weizsäcker of Germany and President Mitterrand of France were presented in The Hague with the first ECU coins in silver and gold.

They were minted to symbolise European unity, but there is still a long way to go before the symbol becomes the reality.

Hermann Bleich

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 May 1988)

Out of the rubble of war, the vision of a new Europe

Leading public figures from politics, business and the arts met in the Ridderzaal in The Hague to commemorate a momentous gathering held there 40 years ago, on 8 May 1948.

Britain's wartime Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, held pride of place. He called for a "United States of Europe" including the defeated German people, whose readmission to the family of democrats he had advocated in 1946 in Zurich.

The "undertaking" given in The Hague 40 years ago now reads as though it were the most self-evident catalogue of truisms in the world:

"We want a united Europe open in its full extent to the free flow of people, ideas and goods . . . a charter of human rights . . . the free exercise of political opposition . . . a court of justice to ensure that the charter is respected . . . a European Assembly in which the forces of all our peoples are represented."

Yet even in 1948 the head of the German delegation, the newly-elected chairman of the CDU in the British Zone, Konrad Adenauer, sounded a note of scepticism, as did other, older politicians.

Fellow-Christian Democrat Erik Blumenfeld, then a young German delegate from Hamburg, remembers him as saying that reconstruction and recovery could only be a gradual process.

How right he and other "men with mature political experience" were to be proved! Europeans have found integration a much tougher task than the Americans with whom they have so often and so ill-advisedly been compared.

Professor Walter Hallstein, another German delegate in The Hague and later, from 1958 to 1967, first president of the European Commission in Brussels, had this to say on why comparisons were inadmissible:

"The United States of America was newly created, from nothing, as it were. What we are here concerned with is a rediscovery, with finding an adequate political form for a unity that in substance already exists.

"The peoples that are here represented in a voluntary quest for unity have emerged in the course of centuries, independently of, and partly against each other, in different legal systems."

Difficulties were soon to arise at the congress itself. The British had largely pre-empted the proceedings and sought to stymie all attempts to aim at setting up a European federation.

The economic affairs commission laid the groundwork for the later European Economic Community, or Common Market.

The arts commission paved the way for the human rights convention.

But in the political commission, as Claus Schöndube and Christel Ruppert note in their *Eine Idee setzt sich durch* (literally: An Idea Comes Into Its Own), concepts of integration "ranging from a loose alliance to a federation, from a loose economic union to supranational institutions," clashed head-on.

The result, bearing in mind the typically European variety of opinion, was the Council of Europe, set up a year later in Strasbourg.

It lacked government rights of any kind, was empowered to make no more than recommendations and was accompanied by a parliamentary assembly that neither had legislative powers nor was directly elected by its member-countries (now 21 in number).

Both Erik Blumenfeld from Hamburg and Professor Brugmans, the Dutch delegate who spoke the closing words in The Hague in 1948, regret that Britain in those days was nowhere near identifying itself with the idea of Western European unity.

They both confirm that in 1952 and 1954 Britain refused to guarantee that British forces would be permanently stationed on the Continent until the European Defence Community proposal was defeated in the French National Assembly.

Britain then promptly undertook to keep troops stationed on the Continent in a minute to the treaty setting up the Western European Union.

The WEU, as an alliance within Nato, consists of Britain and the six potential EDC (and later actual EEC) founder-members France, Germany, Italy and Benelux.

Had Britain not stalled on its guarantee to station troops on the Continent, experts are convinced the European Defence Community would have gained majority support in the French National Assembly.

That, of course, would have meant a defence community Britain was resolved not to join. Britain was a problem that long weighed heavily on European integration.

The EEC was set up at a breathtaking pace, under Hallstein as president of the European Commission, between 1957 and 1965.

General de Gaulle then brought this initial impetus to an abrupt halt by withdrawing French representatives, in breach of the Treaty of Rome, from the Council of Ministers.

This "empty chair policy" ended in 1966 after seven months of standstill. In return the others agreed that the Council of Ministers was not to reach a majority decision if a member-country declared the issue at stake to be "very important" for it.

This arrangement is mistakenly known as the Luxembourg Compromise. In reality the other five objected to it but had no choice on the matter if the EEC was to stay in business.

It was never formulated in treaty terms yet formed part of the basis on which Britain, Denmark and Ireland were admitted as new members of the European Community in 1973.

But major changes are now in the offing. By the end of 1992, the Twelve have agreed, all borders between member-states are to be fully opened, ensuring freedom of movement for people, goods, service and capital — and majority decisions by the Council of Ministers.

Professor Claus-Dieter Ehlermann, as a spokesman for the European Commission in Brussels, says:

"That must be taken literally; it is not just a matter of making borders a little easier to cross."

Europe is now an increasingly important factor as a technological union, with an R & D budget of DM13bn for its latest five-year plan.

It is active in space research, with Ariane, the launcher rocket, fascinating the entire world. It is the world's largest trading power, and nothing can be agreed at Gatt against its will.

It has pioneered development cooperation with 66 African, Caribbean and Pacific states, with DM15bn to be invested in a five-year period and China, the world's largest developing country, calling the Lomé Convention a model for North-South ties.

At the United Nations the European Community countries cast a joint vote four times out of five, and the East acknowledges them as a power to be reckoned with because other groups of state follow in the Twelve's footsteps at the UN.

Hermann Bohle

(Bremer Nachrichten, 6 May 1988)

Over the past year, 10,000 unemployed people have started up business on their own, many with the help of grants from the Federal Labour Office. Last year, 51 million marks was paid out under the scheme with an average amount of 5,000 marks. Grants have been based on the equivalent of three months' dole money, but this year, applicants can claim the equivalent to six months'. According to one *Land* authority, only about a third of those jobless interested in going out on their own are suited. Although it is too early to extrapolate meaningful figures about success, one authority says that there have been only a few cases of people going back on the dole. In this article for *Mannheimer Morgen*, Peter Reinhardt looks at the scheme and some of the people who have made the transformation from unemployed to self-employed.

■ BUSINESS

Grants help the unemployed set up on their own

Wendelin Meyer regards it as strange that many of his old friends and acquaintances regard him "as a rich guy."

For three months, the master joiner has been the tenant of a workshop in one of the best locations in Tübingen.

Meyer, 38, who went heavily into debt starting up, had been unemployed for six months.

The sudden change to being in charge of everything was a "tremendous" switch.

Over the past year 10,000 unemployed have done the same as Meyer and have dared to make the leap into the cold waters of self-employment.

Labour exchanges have encourage this entrepreneurial spirit by offering grants under a Federal Labour Office scheme.

Hans Jörg Eckhardt of the Stuttgart labour office says: "Only in a few cases does the person go back on the dole."

This is why from the beginning of this year grants have been increased. They used to be three months at the last amount drawn as unemployment benefit. It is now six months.

The Federal Labour Office had to find DM51m for bridging grants of this sort last year. It is hoped that people who are successful as self-employed will eventually need to take on other workers.

Meyer has so much work that he has already taken on an assistant.

Meyer became a master joiner three years ago. He said: "I always wanted to be self-employed." But as he did not have a workshop he had to take a job as an employee and then he was made unemployed, after he had a row with his boss.

He applied for many jobs. He had lots of time on his hands and in a café he accidentally heard of a workshop in a good location in Tübingen that was available.

He worked hard to attract the sophisticated clientele he had there. Meyer produced a leaflet describing the services he offered. He listed exclusive specially-made furniture, individual special items and reconditioning valuable old furniture.

So as to go one better than the competition Meyer, formerly a window-dresser, took on marquetry contracts. He landed a contract from a textiles manufacturer for bow-tie boxes.

He said that there was a lot of interest in these boxes. He was very optimistic about the future.

Nevertheless from the very beginning he has not been able to disregard the demand of "mass production."

Apart from the bridging grant he had from the labour office, which does not have to be re-paid, Meyer has "completely used up" the setting-up credit he was able to negotiate.

Although he has only rented the workshop he has had to find DM180,000 for machinery and essential modernisation.

He has furnished an office over the workshop, but it still lacks some items of office equipment. It will take two years, he said, before he is finally on his feet.

Meyer put into operation a plan he had cherished for a long time. For Dagmar von Vietinghoff-Scheel the idea of being self-employed only gradually dawned upon her.

She had worked as general director of the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival. She herself said that she earned an enormous amount in the job, but before her probation period was up she threw it up because she fell out with the Festival's founder, pianist Justus Franz.

She turned down three offers in concert impresario agencies, because they were not for her.

A year ago Frau Vietinghoff-Scheel went self-employed, arranging art exhibitions and cultural events with the accent on classical music. She has, for instance, organised a whole series of chamber music concerts, sponsored by various firms.

She has also arranged travel and tickets for the Salzburg Music Festival or the opera in Verona, and is also involved in a new European opera festival, that should be put on in Lausanne and Geneva, supported by the European Commission.

Although she lives from hand to mouth and has been helped financially by her parents, she believs that she can "pull through."

She estimates that it will take three years for her to really get going, because in her business long-term planning is usual.

Even through she is 42 she wants to realise her dream of being her own boss,

Page 14: The bicycle courier: going where no car has gone before.

even if she cannot think about holidays for years to come.

She has never had regular working hours, not even when she was employed as secretary for the Tübingen Museum Society.

Her boss then was also arts consultant to the university. She had to "hold the fort" because her office had looked after classical music affairs in Tübingen for the past 30 years.

She said that 13 years in a permanent position had been "fabulous training" for her present activities.

She is constantly on the go. She said that looking back she had lacked the courage "to give up the security of a permanent position."

Only when the support of having a civil service job was no longer there was her family prepared to go along with her wish to open her own agency. Now she could not care less about money, even when she has to be her own secretary.

These two examples show clearly that it is not easy to change from being unemployed to being the boss.

Not for nothing has the labour office, then, asked for reports on the chances of success for new entrepreneurs "so as not to throw good money away," as a spokesman for the Federal Labour Office put it.

So far the average bridging grant has been of the order of DM5,000. In 1988 this figure may be doubled, because applicants can now claim six months' unemployment pay as a grant instead of the previous three.

The number of unemployed people who can go ahead to earn their own livelihood is limited because of the personnel commitment this involves and the essential specialist knowledge that a person needs to have to do this.

The Stuttgart Social Affairs Ministry has learned that only about a third of interested unemployed people are "ready and willing" to take the path to becoming self-employed.

Last summer the Ministry set up two pilot projects for promoting initiatives for self-employment, one in Sigmaringen and one in Karlsruhe. Since then 250 unemployed people have been advised about, and given ideas for setting up their own businesses.

In both cities people interested were provided with basic business management and legal information as well as courses on data processing.

Up to the present, however, only 25 have been able to qualify for an investment loan and support to meet living expenses so as to set up their own businesses.

Construction engineer Albrecht Enderle knew what he wanted. It was a matter of considerable urgency for him to take the road from being unemployed to self-employed so as to be able to maintain the standard of living his family, a wife and two children, were used to.

He had worked as a staff man for seven years as an engineering inspector. Then the boss decided to reduce the size of the company, due to his age, and Enderle found himself without a job.

He said that it was no good looking for another job in the vicinity. So he decided to go it alone.

On 7 July last year he started up as an independent structural engineer with an office in the basement of his house.

His previous job had covered a lot of aspects in the building trade and this was of considerable help, for through his past job he had made many contracts in the building trade and in architects' offices.

Enderle believes that if he had not had these contacts he would never have been able to set up on his own.

Almost 12 months after he started he is satisfied with the way things have gone. "I have done better than I expected I would do," he said, although the market has got smaller all the time and there are fewer licences to build being issued.

Enderle sees as one of the advantages the fact that he can get on with his work in his own way and give more of his time to his two children.

This has meant that his wife has been able to go back to her work in a part-time capacity.

In his previous job Enderle had had to work far more than 40 hours per week, so he knew what would be in store for him with his own office.

Enderle did not apply for a support grant to cover his living expenses and apart from his personal computer he did not have to buy any equipment of consequence. He feels that he was not given "any particular support."

After all every industrial job in the Swabian Alb area is supported from public funds to a considerable extent.

In the light of this, then, did not the Labour Office get the best out of it in his case, despite the fact that he had an above-average bridging grant, he asked.

If he had not had his own office he would have been a burden to the Federal Labour Office for a longer period.

Enderle was much angered when soon after he started up as a self-employed person he was visited by an official because of the misuse of living accommodation. The head of the department concerned, however, dropped the matter.

Then he regarded it as harassment that he had to get building permission to put up his company's sign on his own house.

There are almost no limits set to ideas and the search for market gaps. The Labour Office has listed the areas in which the unemployed can deploy their efforts to be self-employed.

The list extends from book production to construction work for fairs, from building switchboard panels to business consultancy, publicans to film producer.

One man found a market gap selling baked potatoes wrapped in foil from a mobile snack bar.

Publicans, graphic designers and psychologists take advantage of bridging loans apart from tradesmen.

Marriage bureaus should also not be forgotten. They have seen the light of



day with assistance from the Labour Office. In comparison with that Gabriele Dreher's trade is more solid. For the past nine months she has produced ceramics, having set up her own workshop.

She has pursued this aim from the first day of her training. She stuck to her goal during her 30 months training period as well as almost the same time she had to spend at a school to become a master potter.

Since 1987 she has produced cups, vases, door signs and crockery to sell through her own efforts.

She would never have dared to take the step to be self-employed if she had not had sound basic training.

Gabriele Dreher complains about the obstacles officialdom puts in her way to open her own shop.

She has to get some of the renovation done to the shop before the business can be opened so that she is ready for the Christmas trade that is vital for survival in the business.

But she is only allowed to use the grant to cover living expenses for expenditures that are officially listed for the business. The consequence is that she has not been able to claim a part of the bank credit that has been approved.

She is at present "fairly hopeful" in her work although the amount to be earned from ceramics is limited.

She looks at the distant future with some degree of concern, for her credit commits her for eight years.

She has been "terribly worried" about what would happen if she had a family and children.

She said that officials had suggested that she should close the shop. That is no solution for her.

Peter Reinhardt

(Mannheimer Morgen, 5 May 1988)

■ TRADE

Towards 1992, the economic revolution of the century

European politicians and business executives are going flat out to establish a single internal market in the 12 European Community countries, with their 320 million consumers, by the end of 1992.

This new impetus at long last goes further than words in paving the way for practical progress.

The project must not be underestimated; it is the economic revolution of the century.

The public have yet to notice anything of what is going on, but they can confidently expect to be able to settle and go about their work (or practise their profession) in any European Community member-country of their choice.

Companies will have larger sales markets and profit from longer runs of their products.

Jobs will be created. Trade in goods, services and capital will no longer be subject to restrictions, and the same will apply to freedom of travel.

People travelling between European Community countries will no longer be asked the tiresome question: "Have you anything to declare?"

It will, however, be a while before they can use a common currency, the ECU, throughout the Community. Monetary union will be the keystone in the compromise arch of the economic union.

Leading banks, insurance companies and freight forwarders seem to be the first to sound out the risks and opportunities of the common market.

They are merging to form larger units so as to be able to hold their own in fiercer competition. Takeovers, mergers and partnerships are an increasingly frequent phenomenon.

New and larger groups are in the making, especially in the new technologies. Everyone is keen to make sure of as large a slice as possible of the larger cake.

In a first come, first served situation the trade unions will need to take good care to ensure that they keep abreast of developments.

The Belgians, French, Dutch and Italians are keenest. The best example of the trend is the battle waged by Italian financier Carlo de Benedetti for control over Société Générale, the Belgian conglomerate.

He may have lost that particular battle, but he has already set up a holding company of his own named Europa '92. German financiers and businessmen seem sluggish in comparison.

They must take care not to rest on their laurels and miss the boat. The Single Internal Market is in the making, with Britain lagging furthest behind despite the new opportunities presented by the Channel Tunnel.

The new impetus within the European Community will oblige the six Efta countries to adjust to the circumstances of the larger market. They won't want to be sidelined tradewise.

Austria even wants to apply for full membership of the Community, but the Brussels grapevine says it won't be able to do so before 1992, while the Turks will have to wait even longer.

The Single Internal Market will lend added weight to Europe's position in the Gatt talks with the United States and Japan.

Not for nothing does Sony, the Japanese electronics firm, plan to manufacture in Europe half the products it sells here by 1990 (as opposed to the present 20 per cent).

The Japanese are making no mistake. They will make sure they have a foot in the door in good time.

The precondition for freedom of investment throughout the European Community is liberalisation, or derestriction, of capital transfer.

The next step will be the harmonisation of value-added tax rates as the prerequisite for the abolition of border checks of goods and produce.

Germany faces far fewer problems than others in this connection.

A further consideration will be the wide-ranging field of harmonising company law and health standards.

The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg will have a leading role to play in this process, as it did in the so-called Beer War.

The Beer War, since forgotten, was fought (and lost) by the Federal Republic (on behalf of German brewers) to preserve the medieval "real ale" regulations governing purity of beer in Germany.

Last, if not least, government monopolies must tumble. Government contracts must be put out to tender throughout the Community.

All member-states will find this hard to swallow, and the entire revolutionary programme, gigantic in scope and extent, is unlikely to be completed by the end of 1992.

The inroads on national sovereignty will be enormous, and not only Bonn but also the *Länder* maintain liaison offices in Brussels to look after their interests in the European Community.

By the end of 1992 the Council of Ministers will have to reach agreement on endorsing over 200 European legal ordinances, and national privileges stand to go by the board in the process, as observers in Brussels point out.

Resolutions approved by the Council of Ministers are binding by the terms of the Treaty of Rome and the Single European Act, mind you. All member-states have to abide by them and the European Court of Justice ensures that they are enforced.

Not even the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe disputes the supranational authority of the Luxembourg court, which interprets Community law with discretion but invariably in the interest of European integration.

We are heading irreversibly in the direction of a European economic union. Of that there can no longer be the slightest doubt regardless of the crises that will surely lie ahead in negotiations held to arrive at compromise solutions.

The objective, economic union, will be achieved by the turn of the century at the latest. Europe is gaining in importance, and high time too! It set its sights on economic union 30 years ago.

Hans Wimmer

(Mannheimer Morgen, 7 May 1988)

Europe warned not to miss the bus in South-East Asia

The seventh conference of the six Asean Foreign Ministers and their 12 European Community counterparts in Düsseldorf made one point clear: there is no lack of initiatives, ideas or resolution on the part of all concerned to take fresh aim at reaping the economic fruits of political seed already sown.

What is lacking is foresight by entrepreneurs who are unable to see further afield than their traditional trade ties and are reluctant to venture into new markets and challenge their much-lamented competitors from the Far East in their own neck of the woods.

South-East Asia is a part of the world with bright economic prospects, yet German firms are well on the way to missing the opportunities it offers.

The dilemma faced by the jubilee conference in Düsseldorf (Asean and European Community Foreign Ministers first meet 10 years ago to establish closer political and economic ties) is thus self-evident.

What use are analyses of investment potential and trade, profit and market opportunities by the dozen when political recommendations are not put into practice?

Given the trend in German capital investment in South-East Asia one can but assume, and regrettably so, that opportunities have not just been missed but totally ignored.

Yet Asean member-countries roll out the red carpet for Europeans whenever the opportunity arises. They naturally do so out of self-interest.

Europe not only has much to offer technologically; it is also a welcome counterweight to the Japanese, who are viewed with suspicion and have made consistent use of every conceivable investment opportunity in recent years.

Experience gained by companies large and small, and particularly by small and medium-sized specialist firms, has repeatedly shown that commitments in Asia need not be fraught with the risks that discourage many potential investors.

It is thus a matter of arduous routine to refer yet again to the favourable economic framework, as politicians have done for years. Asean has demonstrated since the Manila summit that it is well aware of the shape of things to come.

Its member-countries are making even more strenuous efforts to improve the climate for investment and market access for foreign entrepreneurs in the region.

Asean is in the throes of change from a community of political interest to an economic force that is slowly gaining shape.

It would be premature to make comparisons with the European Community, especially in view of the difference in conditions and circumstances.

But to ignore the potential of South-East Asia would be to make a disastrous mistake in assessing the realignment of economic forces in the decades ahead.

Christoph Rabe

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 4 May 1988)

■ MARKETING

Psst! Wanna toy radio that works? — how Grundig became a legend

After the war, Max Grundig wanted to manufacture and sell radios. The occupation forces would not let him. So he made kitsets that were sold as toy radios. He went on to build up the Grundig firm into one of the big names in home electronics. Max Grundig is now 80. This report appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Max Grundig, 80 this month, has become a legend in his own lifetime. The founder of the Grundig leisure-electronics group was born in Nuremberg in Franconia.

Although he is as active now as he ever was, he is no longer involved in leisure electronics. He sold Grundig AG to Philips in 1984 and turned his attention to hotels.

He lives in Baden-Baden — he chose to live their partly, but not entirely, for health reasons. From his home there he directs his small, élite hotel empire.

This includes the Forsthaus Dambach in Fürth, the Castle Hotel in Fuschl and the Vista palace in Monaco.

The jewel in his empire will be the Bühlerhöhe Castle Hotel near Baden-Baden that he has had completely rebuilt at a cost of DM150m. It is scheduled to be re-opened at the end of June.

Grundig is a reserved man and he is unlikely to give a weighty speech at the hotel's opening celebrations. He has put his ideas into operation without any great beating of the drums. He gives the impression that he is high-handed.

But is has not been easy for him to get to the top. He is obsessed with detail. He is also very generous.

Grundig has very little small talk. He goes straight to the heart of the matter in hand.

Grundig became a symbol of the post-war economic miracle. He got down to it and did all he could to get ahead.

He was not successful in everything he set his mind on. He had to pay a price for his restlessness.

But he has now overcome his health and business difficulties, even if the wounds have not completely healed.

Asked if he would once more sell his empire he answered: "I would never do it again."

The sale of Grundig AG to the Philips concern fulfilled part of his aim of bringing together the European leisure electronics industry so as to be able to stand up to the competition from the Far East.

Grundig appealed for a European alliance of this sort and at first wanted to cooperate with the French Thomson-Brandt Group. The Monopolies Commission in Berlin put a stop to that. Grundig could not understand why.

It was obvious to him that he alone could not make his way on a market that was getting tougher all the time. He had to close down factories and sack people.

Finally the Philips people took over the responsibility of re-structuring the Grundig organisation and had to support the Federal Republic's largest radio and television set manufacturer.

There are more than 100 million receivers of all kinds in the world today, embossed with the Grundig name.

Grundig's successors, Philips, want to make sure that the Grundig good name holds good for the future.

Max Grundig can be grateful for his good fortune. He has been very fortunate in his family life as well, he pointed out, mentioning his wife and daughters.

He has no more dreams. But he recently confessed in a newspaper inteview that he has plenty of plans.

He was once described as a "driving force behind the economic miracle" and although he is now 80 he cannot stand still. The reason for this is, perhaps, that he had to work very hard early on in his life.

The forward to his biography, published on his 75th birthday, starts with the words: "I began with nothing."

He was born in Nuremberg into an unexceptional middle-class family. His father died when he was 12.

He was taught a trade by an electrical installations firm. His hobby was radios.

In 1930 he became self-employed with a capital of 3,000 marks. He was 21 and opened a retail radio shop in Fürth.

The 1930s were the heyday of the radio. Grundig exploited the public interest in radios to the full. It was not long before he started up his own plant for the manufacture of transformers.

In 1938 he had a turnover running into millions. His transformers were important for the German war effort.

For a short period he was a lance-corporal in the German Army, but he was soon sent back to Nuremberg. He was in Nuremberg at the war's end with a personal fortune of 17.56 million Reichsmarks. His home and production plant came through bombing raids untouched. He was able to start up again as early as 1945. His customers were American soldiers.

Max Grundig, the radio fan, wanted to build radios, but the occupying authorities did not go along with that. He was able to circumvent the Allies' ban by the trick of do-it-yourself radios, at law toys but in fact real radios.

He experienced early on his own personal "economic miracle," for with his DIY radios, named "Heinzelmann's" he earned DM20m. This formed the basis of his billion-mark organisation.

In 1958, the year he was 50, Max Grundig employed 17,000 people. In 1979 the figure was 38,500.

In 1982 the group operated 23 factories in the Federal Republic with others in France, Portugal, Austria, Italy, Spain, Northern Ireland and Taiwan. Last year the labour force totalled 19,500.

But the great days were finally over. The Japanese had appropriated the secret of Grundig's success, mass production but good quality, and they had also taken over the Max Grundig bargain price methods. The day when he would pass from the scene was not far off.

Grundig is an entrepreneur of the old school. He always had a good nose for



I began with nothing ... Max Grundig. (Photo: ...)

new developments. He knew what the man-in-the-street would buy and he made a television set within everyone's means. Consumers were grateful to him and remained faithful.

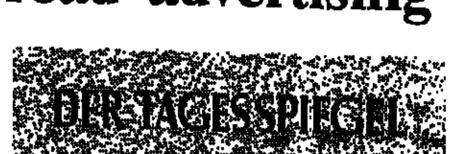
It is not surprising that he had to put up with, and still does, a lot of jealousy. Was he, for example, too rigid to turn in good time to VHS video systems? Has he tried to take on too much?

These are futile questions in view of all that Max Grundig has achieved as an independent entrepreneur.

He is now 80 and exudes confidence and belief in the future. Without men of his calibre the rebuilding of Germany after the war would never have been possible.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 May 1988)

A truism with conditions: for 'communication', read 'advertising'



The profusion of fairs and congresses in Berlin is remarkable. The efforts politicians and representatives of industry have put in to drawing attention to Berlin are worthy of support.

Their efforts are an example of public relations work in action. Or should one say just simply — good advertising?

Anyone asking around at communications conferences in Berlin's congress centre over the past few weeks would have been surprised to discover that nowadays everything is popularly meant by the word "communications."

The expression is used equally for public relations work as for mass communications and advertising. Even if nothing could be further from the truth people have got used to the fact that slogans are part of the trend of the times.

For industry communication means communicating at many levels, between company management and workers, between group headquarters and operational groups in the field, between management and the public.

For good reasons industry is very concerned at forging close contacts with customers and consumers.

Close contacts with customers and links to readers are basic fundamentals for success in every sector of trade and industry.

It would be impossible to imagine industry today without this special art of communication that is called advertising.

Nothing gets off the ground without marketing, either by a company's own organisation or a firm that is called in from outside.

Trend analyses show who advertises too little, which advertising media are most in demand (for instance motoring and women's magazines) and which products are currently best susceptible to good marketing.

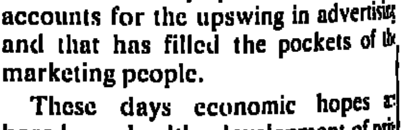
At present there is a boom for the foodstuffs industry and drinks. Things are not so bright for tobacco products, for the building industry and, from the budget point of view, tourism.

The advertising industry has now developed into a very significant branch of commerce and industry. The annual growth rate in this sector is regularly above industry's growth rate.

This year advertising volume in the media should increase by seven per cent to DM19bn, with the lion's share going, as always, to the classic advertising media, the press, radio and television.

Among advertising men the upward trend is described as "an excellent climate for advertising."

A spokesman for the central committee for the Federal Republic advertising industry said a little while ago: "Consumption is no longer a dirty word in this country."



There is a very special condition that accounts for the upswing in advertising and that has filled the pockets of the marketing people.

These days economic hopes are based on a healthy development of private consumption. In just such a period in many circles advertising is regarded as a blessing for the national economy.

With private consumption supported this sort, slogans concerning growth appear more credible. But there is still room for expansion.

The average DM220 per head of population spent for advertising per year in the Federal Republic is only half the figure applied per person in the United States and Britain.

In the long-term advertising is useless if the product is not good enough. Talking to top managers indicates quite clearly that they are well aware of this.

In a critical, but well-informed society business has to justify itself just as an individual must do.

Helmut Maucher, head of the foodstuffs giant Nestlé, is not alone when he said: "The manager himself is more credible, in my opinion, than brochures."

How to go about promoting sales, however, never loses sight of the guiding principles of economic profit.

The "translucent businessman," open in his dealings with workers, countries and trade unions, trying hard to promote honest public relations — understood not in the conventional meaning of advertising but much more as an explanation with a self-critical approach can create for himself in the long-term a more credible position in society.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 1 May 1988)

■ THE HANOVER AIR SHOW

Decision on Airbus cash jollies the atmosphere

The Hanover Air Show this year has been more significant than usual. An important decision over determination to keep financing the Airbus series was made; mock-ups of the Hermes space shuttle and the Columbus space station were on show to bring home to the public just where aerospace tax money is going. Dieter Tasch, on the spot for the *Hannoversche Allgemeine*, looks at the exhibition and its meaning for the worlds of aviation and aerospace.

Ministers from four European countries met at the show and decided to pull out all the financial stops to make sure the Airbus range will be fully available by the 1990s.

Airbus manufacturing and marketing are to be realigned and will, at long last, cost British, French, German and Spanish taxpayers less money.

Another decision that lifted the mood at the show came from Bonn, where Bundestag committees gave the go-ahead for the new European Fighter Aircraft, EFA.

This military contract will guarantee contractors work for development and production divisions, safeguard jobs and mean profits until well past the turn of the century.

The go-ahead from Bonn was greeted with jubilation and hectic activity in exhibition halls closed to the public.

Suppliers and equipment manufacturers from many countries were represented at Hanover to make sure they were available for intensive consultations if necessary.

Civil and military aircraft manufacturers were not alone in feeling satisfied with themselves at Hanover. Space research representatives were delighted with two impressive mock-ups on show in the hangar that used to be the preserve of aerobatics buffs with their ultra-lightweight aircraft, conventional and hang gliders.

This year they were sidelined and overshadowed by two king-sized exhibits filling the entire centre section of the hangar.

They were as tall as a house and simply wouldn't have fitted into either of the other exhibition halls.

They were the handiwork of the European Space Agency (Esa), which presented for the first time to a German and international public at a major air show the projects that will account for most of the Federal Research Ministry's aerospace research and development spending beyond the turn of the century.

The two mock-ups were dummies of the Hermes space shuttle and the Columbus space station.

The Hermes will fly to and from Earth and orbital stations, including the Columbus, which is to dock alongside the US space station.

Both space stations will be manned, and Columbus will be manned by European astronauts, at least for part of the time. Europe and America have still not entirely come to terms on the details.

But as Bonn has already given Columbus the go-ahead, a German firm, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) of Munich, is for once to head the consortium.

So leading manufacturers, especially those who manufacture entire systems, as opposed to individual components, were all smiles at Hanover.

Yet reorganising the Airbus project does not solve the problem of a badly-needed restructuring the German aerospace industry — although, of course, they are interlinked problems.

Manufacturers of helicopters that overflew the exhibition grounds are in a less happy position even though some of them are associated with developing and manufacturing the Franco-German anti-tank helicopter.

Manufacturers of private and executive aircraft, for whom the Hanover air show is not just a talking shop but a market place where orders are placed and contracts are signed, set great store by this year's proceedings.

Business is in the doldrums, and the opening days of the show gave no sign of improvement in the strictly limited readiness of potential business or private buyers to invest in new aircraft.

These topics were discussed with no less interest at Hanover than other issues that interest Germans and others, such as how and when the German aerospace industry is to be streamlined and realigned in preparation for the post-1992 single internal market in the European Community.

The first step in this direction was the intention, announced by the Ministers who met at Hanover, to thoroughly reorganise and realign Airbus Industrie as a multinational manufacturer from next year.

Providing the revamped consortium is at the ready in eight months, as envisaged, then the next step is sure to follow in 1989, or so German pundits feel.

This next step is expected to be a change in ownership and, probably, management structure at MBB, the leading German aerospace manufacturer, which as usual was represented in strength and full, future-oriented variety at Hanover.

MBB board chairman Hanns Arnt Vogels sounded both receptive to any changes that might be necessary and convinced that MBB in its present shape would continue to grow rapidly and earn sound profits.

They would have been even sounder in the past few year if MBB had not



The face of tomorrow's space ... mock up of the Hermes space shuttle. (Photo: Eberhard Franke)

had to lend a constant helping hand to its Airbus subsidiary, which manufactures sections and parts of the A 300, A 310 and A 320 Airbus in Germany.

MBB was in a position to lend its Airbus subsidiary financial support because of the handsome profits earned from the Tornado multi-role combat aircraft contract.

The Airbus is not a money-spinner for several reasons, and that is why the only potential new German industrial investor in MBB has been reluctant to do so.

The reluctant partner is Daimler-Benz in Stuttgart. As cautious Swabians the Mercedes manufacturers are still doubtful about investing in the German partner in the Airbus project, which remains an incalculable risk.

From their point of view this reluctance is understandable. The board of the largest German firm, Daimler-Benz, cannot be keen on investing in MBB, with over a dozen shareholders of various sizes and with varied interests in the DM600m of paid-up capital.

MBB shareholders include the Hamburg shipbuilding and aircraft-building Blohm family, the Dresdner Bank, Allianz Insurance and Robert Bosch, a Daimler-Benz supplier.

They also include the *Land* governments of Bavaria, Bremen and Hamburg, who invariably rush to defend local MBB jobs whenever they feel they may be in jeopardy.

A company such as Daimler-Benz would hardly make do with buying another "think tank."

It already has one — to some extent — in Dornier, and would prefer to take over (or buy into) a company that has marketable products with sales prospects that can be quantified.

In talks with Daimler-Benz, shelved for the time being, MBB made it clear they would prefer the company structure to be largely retained.

Herr Vogels feel hiving off the Airbus division would make little sense. Above all, nothing would be gained by separating civil and military research and development.

He untiringly explains to all and sundry at Hanover that the various MBB divisions are already closely interlinked and will be still more closely interlocked as time goes by.

Take, for instance, the interface between aircraft and spacecraft manufacture. The Airbus benefits from experience gained in work for space missions — from electronic controls or in the use of new materials.

Conversely, development of the Sänger space shuttle, which is planned to take off and land like an aircraft, will depend heavily on progress in aircraft design and construction.

By the same token, Herr Vogels argues, the development of parts for combat aircraft such as the MFA will result in spin-off for the next generation of non-military aircraft.

As the Bonn government is keen to spend less cash on aerospace and can be sure to insist on reorganisation in the aerospace industry, the German industry could look different at the next Hanover air show in two years' time.

There will be few outward signs of the change. The customary names and abbreviations will be retained. But there could well be changes in executive suites.

At a later stage the industrial realignment will show in the shopwindow — at Hanover — too. Herr Vogels, newly elected as president of the German Aerospace Industry Association, says the air show is a must.

That sounds fine but isn't a copper-bottomed guarantee — especially of Hanover remaining the air show venue.

The Hanover air show can only benefit from a realigned and reinforced aerospace industry provided it succeeds in gaining the extra international attraction it so badly needs.

Yet Paris or Farnborough, as established air show rivals, are not the most dangerous long-term competitors. That distinction is held by a meteoric newcomer to the air show world, Singapore.

Dieter Tasch

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 May 1988)

Two crewmen die, 12 onlookers hurt as helicopter explodes

Two crew members were killed and 12 onlookers injured when an RAF Chinook helicopter crashed at the Hanover Air Show.

The aircraft burst into flames when a rotor blade hit a gate after landing.

It burst into flames, showering onlookers with metal debris.

Twelve were taken to hospital but seven were later released.

Attendance at the show this year had reached a record level at the half-way mark, with more than 60,000.

A spokesman for the German Aerospace Industry Association, reviewing an air show featuring 420 exhibitors from 16 countries, said he was satisfied with the attendance.

High-ranking delegations from Germany and abroad had been given value for money. So had non-trade visitors.

The extensive programme of demonstration flights was extremely popular.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 May 1988)

THE ARTS

Meeting casts little new light on the life and works of Thomas Mann



So much has been written about Thomas Mann that there seems to be little doubt among the experts of German literature that he is a classic in the language.

The extensive secondary sources that have come to light about Mann serve only to confirm what was already known. They throw no new light on his work.

This applies to the pages of his diary that have been published recently, revealing intimate homo-erotic aspects of Mann's nature. These are only components in an understanding of Mann as a whole.

Can there be any hope of discovering anything new about Mann? Mann himself said of himself that he was original.

The second international Thomas Mann conference in Lübeck successfully trod the difficult tight-rope between repeating well-known truths about the writer and a search for new clues in marginalia.

The conference, surprisingly well attended, was held in Lübeck's city parliament hall. Mann was a native son of Lübeck and the city with its traditions was a problem for him. As a cradle of solidity and middle-class respectability it strongly influenced his early work.

In his later work these qualities only played a subsidiary role.

The first conference in Lübeck on Thomas Mann centred on his involvement in politics or more accurately put the unpolitical aspects of Thomas Mann, so often questioned. This time the conference concentrated on Mann the "inspired plagiarist."

It is a well-known fact that he used what was current culturally and politically as a quarry from which he hacked what he wanted for his work.

Apart from the trio Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and Wagner, there was a whole group of writers and composers, including his brother Heinrich Mann, who fed him with ideas.

It was not surprising then that at this conference new names were mentioned. Klaus Bohnen from Copenhagen saw Thomas Mann connections with the Danish writer Jens Peter Jacobsen.

Bohnen said that Mann quoted Jacobsen almost word for word in several passages in his *Der kleine Herr Friedemann*, included in Mann's *Stories of a Lifetime*. Mann was fascinated by Jacobsen's minute and biological details in *Verfall des Authentischen*.

Like many young writers of his time Mann saw melancholic experience as a subjective loss of the senses. This pressure of suffering which he expressed in his biographical writings as "suicidal tendencies" only ended with Nietzsche's concept of "personal will-power."

The decay scenario of *Buddenbrooks* seen in the light of the liftings from Jacobsen throws new light on the book.

Ruprecht Wimmer from Eichstätt showed how Mann in his later years created the vividness of his text from foreign models, comparing his work with *Simplicissimus* by Grimmelshausen.

"Speivogel, Wendenschimpf, potzstern, wer kegeln will muß aufsetzen" are expressions that are used in *Doktor Faustus*, but which have nothing to do with the Middle Ages.

In *Doktor Faustus* Mann used the language props of the baroque to produce a cryptic religious atmosphere.

Grimmelshausen also played a part in the *Confessions of Felix Krull Confidence Man*, not only by providing quotations but as a model of a picaresque novel from the Middle Ages. Krull's dream of his journey into the cosmos is almost word for word similar to Simplex's journey to "Finis terrae."

During his own lifetime Mann was confronted with the view that his Doktor Faustus had nothing to do with Faust. In academic circles Goethe had no influence on Mann after his *Lotte in Weimar*. This was the interesting point made by Heinz Gockel from Bamburg in his lecture "Faust im Faustus."

There is an identity of evil with good in both *Doktor Faustus* and *Faust*. The good needs the bad to lend legitimacy to itself.

Imitations of Goethe's set pieces for the theatre with their mythological references can be found in Mann.

In Goethe's *Faust* the idea of salvation plays an important role, but in *Faustus* the accent is on melancholy.

These few examples show clearly how much foreign works influenced Mann's own way of thinking. The fact that only now, 30 years after his death, these references are coming to light shows how sophisticatedly he did this.

This does not affect the artistic integrity of his works at all but it shows what enormous powers of perception he had and his will to transpose ideas.

Walter Jens made a remark, in a disparaging sense, that Mann was the "the most word-powerful encyclopaedist of the 20th century." With this background this remark can be seen in a positive sense.

Hans Wysling, head of the Thomas Mann archives in Zürich, said that it would be thoughtless to force *The Magic Mountain* into a frame of foreign references in endeavouring to interpret the book's considerable difficulties.

Mann himself called the work "a wonderful Bildungsroman," a novel concerned with the intellectual or spiritual development of the main character.

The reader does not learn from the novel itself nor from its literary antecedents such as *Wilhelm Meister*, which Mann used as a guide, why Castrop does not behave like a classic character in a novel or why his career takes quite unforeseen turns.

Just as Castrop "experimented" with the magical world of the sanatorium in the mountains so Mann experimented, propelled forward by biographical impulse.

Does this mean that new directions in Mann research have been revealed? The Lübeck conference showed something of the creative process, how ideas were formulated in writing. Constructive components of a writer's artistry extend far beyond textual analysis and comparison.

Research of this kind shows up a writer's particular characteristics. If these characteristics are not understood it would be difficult to understand the perceptions typical of Mann.

This helps to make clear what Eckard Heftrich, president of the Thomas Mann Society, had to say in the final lecture he gave entitled "Thomas Mann's relationship to the Germans and Judaism."

Thomas Mann's sallies against "Jewish literati" and the characterisation of the Jews as a foreign race (he also drew attention to Jewish physical attributes) belongs to the darkest chapter in his literary career.

It is equally puzzling how he came to marry a Jewess, Katja Pringsheim, which in effect made his children "of mixed race," according to the Nazi racial laws.

In the trilogy *Joseph and his Brothers* he had chosen in the blond, blue-eyed youth, Joseph, as a figure of eternal beauty. He imparted to him a concept of human history.

This was no novel "about the Jews," as Thomas Mann himself once said, but an attempt to snatch away from the Nazis a myth "and re-work his own ideas into the myth," as Heftrich put it.

The state of Israel has thanked him for this. Just a few days before his death on 15 August 1955 a grove was planted in his honour, close to Jerusalem.

Karl Hermann

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 5 May 1988)

Hans Jonas: looking into an ethical no-man's land

Hans Jonas celebrated his 85th birthday this month. He is one of the most significant thinkers of our times.

Our technological civilisation determines the face of the earth, he maintains. "We have become far more dangerous to nature than nature was to us," with our science and technology.

Are we then damned to live in the shadow of catastrophe for all time, because we cannot do without our machines?

German-American philosopher Jonas answered these decisive questions in the affirmative and at the same time demanded that we should halt the downfall of nature and mankind through "foreknowledge" and "self-limitation."

Hans Jonas is a professor emeritus and now lives in a New York suburb.

In October 1987 he was awarded the German book trade peace prize for his "Ethics of Apprehension" the nucleus of which is "The Imperative of Responsibility."

He has continuously appealed to the conscience of people in progressive industrial society, whom he sees as the "main sinners on earth."

Science and technology undoubtedly "work for freedom" but "it is the duty of all freedoms" to set limits on themselves.

Jonas became famous as a theologian but in his later years he turned to the philosophy of technology stamped with the philosophy of Aristotle. He appealed for an "ethical proof" of natural science, so used to success.

'Man's destiny to live in the shadow of catastrophe' . . . Hans Jonas. (Photo: dpa)

He is no longer a voice calling in the wilderness. Post Chernobyl he can show the validity of his view that "high technology" is an ethical no-man's-land and means "knowledge is not power but powerlessness."

Jonas was born in Mönchengladbach. His father was a Jewish textiles manufacturer. He studied in Freiburg and Marburg.

He sat at the feet of Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger and Rudolf Bultmann. His areas for research were gnosis, or mystical knowledge, and the spirit of late antiquity.

Jonas took his degree in 1930. Three years later he had to emigrate. His mother was murdered in Auschwitz.

Jonas taught in Palestine at the Hebrew University and served in the British Army during the last war.

He lived in Canada and from there moved to New York in 1955 to take over a chair at what had become famous as the "University in Exile" at the New School for Social Research.

Hannah Arendt, the well-known political philosopher, with whom Jonas was on friendly terms, also taught there.

Jonas remained at this university for more than 20 years. Twice he was invited to take a chair in Germany, but he turned both offers down.

Jonas developed a system of natural philosophy in a technical age with *The Phenomenon of Life*, published in 1966, *Change and Existence* (1970) and *Organism and Freedom* (1973).

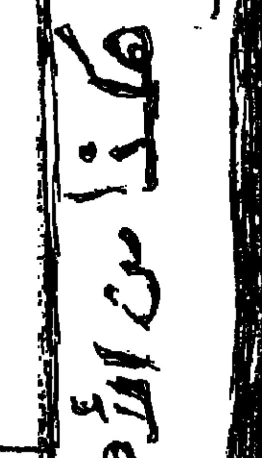
His aim was to overcome the one-sided view of the world prevalent today and to turn back to a total view of the cosmos as seen by antiquity.

As he grew older Jonas involved himself ever more actively against the madness of progress, that irresponsibly risks mankind's future.

In 1981 he published *Power and Powerlessness of Subjectivity* and four years later *Technology, Medicine and Ethics*. These, together with *The Imperative of Responsibility*, which has been translated it many languages, make up Jonas's greatest contribution as a philosopher to thought in our time.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 6 May 1988)



EXHIBITIONS

Bringing Gabriele Münter's talents out from the long shadows

Ten years ago Munich's Lenbachhaus put on a major exhibition of Gabriele Münter's work. Hamburg's *Kunstverein* has now followed this up with an exhibition of her work that centres on her best period, the years up to 1918.

Her self-portrait, *At the easel*, shows her at work. Her arm is outstretched with the brush in her hand. The background blends into fields of colour. There are intense areas of colour, red and blue, various shades of green, yellow and white, everyone of which is surrounded by broad dark strokes of the brush.

This self-portrait was painted in 1910 and shows clearly her personal style. She concentrated on the effects of colour, reduced shapes to their basics and in this way condensed the atmospheric aura of her work.

The works of the members of "Der blaue Ritter" group, the fathers (and mothers) of the moderns in painting, are to be found in galleries all over the world. But Münter has remained in the shadow of the most famous members of the group, Franz Marc, Auguste Macke, Paul Klee, Alexei von Jawlensky and particulary Wassily Kandinsky, whose mistress she was for several years.

It was hard for women to get on in painting in Münter's generation. She was born in 1877 and grew up in a period when art academies only opened their doors to men.

She had no alternative but to study at courses of painting in the undemanding art schools for young ladies.

She said: "The artistic ambitions of a girl were not taken seriously in these academies."

After her parents' death she was financially and personally independent. She went to Munich to join the young ladies' art society, where she had to take the unambitious courses offered there with considerable disappointment.

Then in 1902 she changed over to Kandinsky's newly-opened "Phalanx" private school, where men and women could study together.

Kandinsky soon recognised the original talent of his pupil. He told her: "You are hopeless as a student. One can teach you nothing. You can only do what has developed within you. Everything you have comes from nature."

But her work at that time had little to do with the style she later developed. Up to 1908 her work was stamped with her impressionistic vision.

Her *Allee im Park von St Cloud* shows the interplay of light and shadow on a pathway, crowned by a shimmering stretch of lake.

Her *Gerade Straße mit weißem Haus*, dating from 1910, is quite different. Again there is an allee but not a friendly, pretty idyll. It is an expressive work with strong brush strokes that outline the geometry of the shapes and emphasise the underlying powers of the perspective.

Münter was a co-founder of *Der blaue Ritter* group of 1911. But she held herself aloof from the theoretical discussions on art in which the group indulged.

Her themes remained conventional. Impressive landscape studies, portraits and still-lifes were her strengths. This was unlike Kandinsky who in 1910 painted his first abstracts. She concentrated on figurative expressionism. She not only displayed a feeling for colour but a thrilling sense for composition. Her *Landstraße im Winter*, dating from 1911, is dominated by the bare skeleton of a leafless tree, whose branches split up the sky. A house, made small by perspective, is in the background and seems to be clinging to the mountainside with difficulty. The road that leads through this melancholic, cheerless winterscape is ploughed up by dynamic, blue cart tracks.

Her eye for composition also can be seen in her work in which she immortalised the work of her *blaue Ritter* colleagues.

She did not just deal with personal studies but with the atmosphere in a particular situation, captured in the joint effects of shape and colour in the division of the canvas's surface.

Kandinsky, who was Russian, had to leave Germany and return home in 1914 at the outbreak of the First World War. Münter remained behind and the relationship between the two began to break up.



Self portrait with hat. Gabriele Münter, 1909. (Photo: Catalogue)

Münter hardly painted anything when the end of their affair was sealed by Kandinsky's marriage in 1917.

She lived in retirement and did not take up her work again until ten years later when she no longer had the powers of expression that she had when she was younger.

The Hamburg exhibition concentrates on the years up to 1918, introducing Münter as a painter who, despite the dominating personality of her teacher, Kandinsky, had an artistic individuality all her own.

Ulrike Meyer

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 30 April 1988)

Goya: nightmares lying buried deep in the unconscious

French poet Charles Pierre Baudelaire said of Goya's etchings: "These grotesque faces, these bestial faces, these diabolical grimaces are human. No-one dared more than he did."

Baudelaire was referring to Goya's *Desastres de la Guerra*, (Disasters of War), inspired by the French occupation of Spain.

Not until 35 years after Goya's death in exile in Bordeaux in 1828 could they appear in Spain, published by the Royal Academy.

Goya had been appointed director for painting at the academy in 1795 and in 1799 he was appointed "First Court Painter," the culmination of his climb up the social ladder.

At the time Goya was in deep conflict with himself. The contradiction he felt between the commissions from the deeply reactionary court he was given and his insight into Spain's social backwardness ended in deafness that afflicted him in 1792.

In 1797 he advertised his *The Caprices*, the first of his four cycles of etchings. This series of etchings was published in 80 sheets in 1799. The result was legal proceedings against him by the Inquisition.

Few drawings are as famous as the title etching Goya used for *Caprichos*, "The sleep of reason gives birth to the monstrous."

This representation of the unconscious shows that Goya was way before his time in psycho-analysis and surrealism.

The variety of "The Strangeness and Foolishness" that *Caprichos* present in biting clarity, can only be understood as criticism of Spanish conditions. But the glimmer of hope, that ought to be linked to the impulse for enlightenment in such criticism, soon becomes completely darkened.

In 1808 the Napoleonic invasion of Spain began. The hopes of enlightening reason were conclusively dashed. In the unbelievably cruel war of conquest that followed, the army was not engaged, as in former campaigns, in freeing subject peoples.

It was a brutal horde, murdering and plundering at the behest of foreigners. Sometimes it was at the command of the Corsican conqueror, and sometimes acting for the power of the nobility and the inquisition. The people paid the bloody price.

Goya worked on the 80 etchings of the *Desastrs* between 1808 and 1815, during the whole period of the war of invasion which ended, as Goya feared, with the restoration of reactionary government.

Goya's watercolour *The Disparates*. (Photo: Catalogue)

There was no question of a public showing of his work. The reproductions, in which Goya revealed the angry rationality of his observations of what man is capable of, could only be circulated among limited circles.

For a long time now they have been the common property of art and for a long time the horrors they depict have been superceded by even worse events.

The etchings can now be seen at the Kollwitz Museum in Berlin. They are displayed in a special system designed for a touring exhibition organised by the Juan March Foundation, Madrid. It includes the other two cycles of Goya etchings.

After the horrors of *Desastres* the 40 etchings dealing with bull-fighting, entitled *Tauromaquia*, done in 1816, come as a breathing space.

Finally *Disparates*, the 18 sheets of the *Foolishnesses*, that were never published during Goya's lifetime, are equally part of the nightmare Goya depicted that cannot be interpreted.

This is a marvellous opportunity to see the Goya cycles of etchings as a whole. But no more, for the complicated development of the individual themes and motives in the pictures, often with many years intervening between the drawing and the final etching, appears no more than the considerable re-working of the plates done in later re-printings. That cannot be expected from a

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

A botanists' Noah's Ark for threatened plant species

DIE WELT

Tens of thousands of plant species are stored at -10° C in a seed bank near Brunswick.

They include samples of wild and crop plants of all kinds: foodgrain such as wheat, barley and rye, vegetables such as peas, beans and tomatoes, cabbage and turnips, and herbs and spices.

An estimated 50,000 samples of the seed of nearly 500 plant species from all over the world are stored in deep-frozen cans.

One day they might need to be retrieved from their slumber and grown again.

Many feel the collection, which is at the Federal Agricultural Research Establishment in Völkenrode, a Brunswick suburb, might one day be of greater significance for the future of mankind than the entire space-research programme.

The Brunswick breeders seem to have canned entire market gardens and natural environments. They hope to conserve "phytogenetic resources" for decades.

They hope that this will ensure the survival of plants as an important source of raw materials as mankind progressively destroys its natural environment, and its food supplies, all over the world.

Seed can be stored deep-frozen in the seed bank for a long period, says Professor Manfred Dambroth, director of the research establishment. Maintained at a relative humidity of four to six per cent, foodgrain can for instance be stored for between 200 and 280 years.

The worldwide genetic erosion of important wild varieties, primitive species and old and forgotten cultivated strains of plant continues by leaps and bounds. This progressive decline in the number of surviving plant species worries scientists.

The Brunswick research establishment, in collaboration with similar facilities in many countries with differing political systems, is laying the foundations for a collection of plants that might be of vital importance for generations to come.

The collection is the only seed bank of its kind in Germany, but other research institutes associated with plant breeding have stockpiled similar samples of varieties of one species or another.

They aren't always specifically genetic banks, but botanists find them a treasure in the search for new properties of crop plants.

Many crop plants require constant updating and renewal by the addition of new genetic properties.

This need arises because food supplies are far from assured, and not just in regions where millions are already starving but in industrialised countries too.

We live mainly on a diet of a handful of arable crops such as maize, wheat and rice that originated in the tropics.

Ninety-five per cent of the food we eat consists of a mere 30 plant species, experts say. Four varieties of wheat account for 75 per cent of the foodgrain harvested in the Canadian prairies.

In Germany three varieties of rye account for 95 per cent of the total acreage, while in Brazil almost all coffee is harvested from one variety of tree.

Most of our basic foodstuffs, Professor Dambroth says, come from plants that grow mainly in the Vavilov regions.

Nikolai Ivanovich Vavilov discovered in the 1920s that a wide range of plants flourishes in closest proximity in certain parts of the world. These islands of variety, as he called them, are in the Third World.

They are subtropical hill country and mountainous areas of Ethiopia, China, India, Peru, Bolivia, Central America and the Mediterranean.

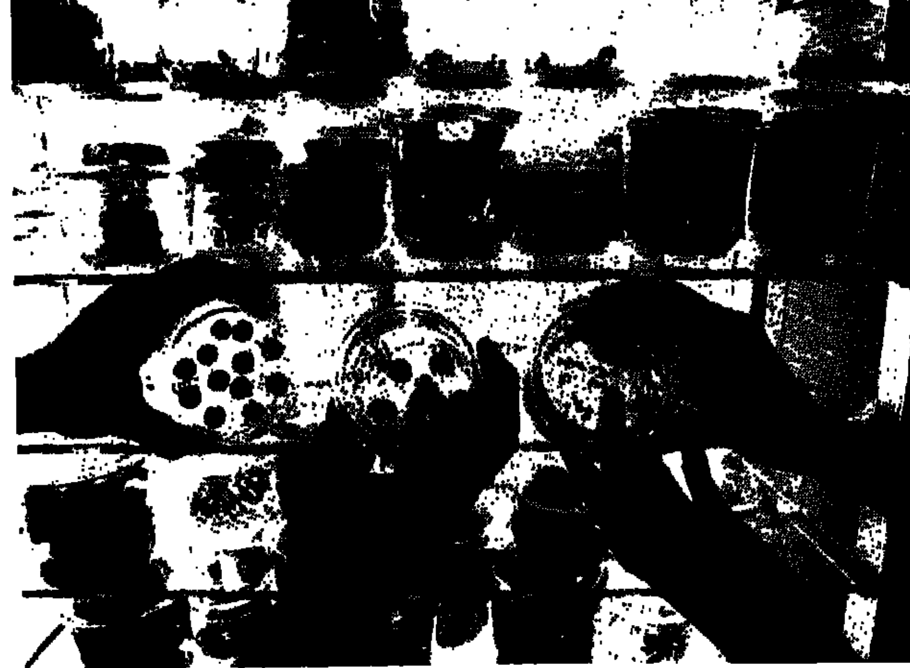
Nearly everything we now eat comes from these regions, so we live on a diet of crop plants that did not originate in our own latitudes.

"Wheat found its way to Europe via the crusaders," Professor Dambroth says. "Barley and rye were mere weeds. Our forefathers ate millet. The potato came from South America.

"So we can't afford to limit ourselves to Central Europe. We have no choice but to collect wild and primitive varieties of crop plant from the Vavilov regions. They incorporate properties of resistance and other features essential for plant breeding."

The Vavilov regions account not only for the plants that in their day became man's crop plants. They still supply the genetic raw material from which plant breeders in the industrialised world breed high-yield varieties of crop plant.

The varieties grown in the industrialised countries, as opposed to the Vavilov regions in the Third World, have grown genetically impoverished and are frequently low in their resistance to plant diseases.



Tomorrow's chips. Frozen and stored genetically manipulated potato plants at various stages of growth. (Photo: Eva Glunz)

Wild varieties from the Vavilov regions are, in contrast, resistant to diseases that could destroy the very basis of our food supplies. That is why scientists are keen to preserve the genetic properties of these varieties in a seed bank.

Plant breeders are mainly concerned with maintaining genetic variety. It is the prerequisite for their work. Without variety, or genetic variability, there could be no new strains.

They are essential for the survival of our own species. Pests and plant diseases can have disastrous repercussions, as history has shown.

It could just be that one of the cans of seed in the Brunswick deep freeze is resistant to some epidemic that threatens to devastate foodgrain crops overnight.

Plant breeders would then stand a chance of lending a helping hand. But the Brunswick scientists sound a warning note, saying exaggerated hopes would be unwise.

For one, such genetic resources as may be identified must first be safeguarded or "made safe" by being grown and crossbred.

For another, research must be carried to ascertain whether any resistance they may have can be genetically handed down to successive plant generations. That is by no means always the case.

A further problem is how to conserve plants that cannot be stored in seed form. Potato varieties, for instance, are maintained as living collections.

"The potato," Professor Dambroth says, "is a cross-fertiliser. If we were to take the seeds from the berries of the potato plant we would no longer have the variety in question.

"Yet growing potatoes year by year for this purpose is hard work and poses problems in respect of ensuring that the tubers stay healthy.

"In this context we make use of biotechnology and the technique known as swift reproduction.

"We grow seedlings in test tubes and can keep them alive for about two years before they need transplanting. It is a fairly simple procedure we use to conserve about 500 old varieties of potato at present."

The Brunswick collection does not just consist of plant varieties that are of agricultural interest. Botanists attach no less importance to herbs and spices and red-listed wild plants on the verge of extinction.

They too show signs of a catastrophic decline in varieties that were once known to exist.

Experts are worried that the destruction of as yet unknown varieties from the tropics that could be of vital importance in the future may prove even more devastating.

The samples of 480 species on deep-freeze deposit in the Brunswick seed bank may sound insignificant in comparison with the 500,000 species known to exist.

But as mankind lives on a diet mainly consisting of a mere five species 480 crop and fodder plants may, Professor Dambroth says, be considered a more meaningful number.

Matthias Glaubrecht

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 April 1988)

■ EDUCATION

Private universities, closer links between research and industry urged



Closer cooperation between research and industry was advocated by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl as guest speaker at the annual general meeting of the *Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft* in Hamburg.

He stressed the pathfinder role of the *Verband* as a joint venture by industry in sponsoring academic and scientific research.

Private funds raised in donations had enabled new ideas to be put to the test swiftly and unconventionally. Cooperation between research, industry and the authorities had always been based on mutual trust and confidence.

Scientific and technological progress was the motive force of a modern, cosmopolitan economy, especially "as human creativity and practical skills are resources we have in plenty," the Chancellor said.

They were the real resources of a country which, like others in the European Community, would need to face the challenge of the Single Internal Market planned for 1992.

Examples of the organisation's work to which the Chancellor referred included its sponsorship of academic chairs, of which the *Verband* had endowed a growing number, and its programme to promote highly-gifted students.

A further instance of foresight and shrewd planning had been the establishment of the *Wissenschaftszentrum*, or Science Centre, in Bonn. It had swiftly become an integral and indispensable part of scientific and cultural life in the Federal capital.

The *Verband* had cut manpower costs and boosted the efficiency of many smaller foundations by providing a trusteeship service to handle their affairs. There were over 135 of them with combined assets in excess of DM700m.

Receptiveness toward new ideas coupled with due regard for both progress and tradition was, as the hallmark of the organisation's work, of the greatest importance for a free society.

The Federal government thus saw the *Verband*, the foundations and their donors as "indispensable partners in coping with the tasks that lie ahead for the future of the country."

Herr Kohl said the government planned to improve the tax status of charitable foundations, which since 1985 had been entitled to set aside reserves for unspecified purposes.

Charities had previously been required to spend tax-deductible donations in the current financial year.

Further incentives, the Chancellor said, must be provided to encourage the establishment of new foundations. Legislation was planned to come into force at the same time as the 1990 tax reform package.

Tax incentives to encourage private, charitable civic commitment were not, he said, merely a matter of raising private funds to ease the burden on the public sector. They formed part of regulatory policy within the framework of the social market economy.

Stifterverband chairman Dr Klaus Liesen of Ruhrgas AG, Essen, covered the same ground in his words of welcome, calling on universities to run their activities along more competitive lines.

He wondered why, in view of the declining number of university students and the ensuing freedom to study at a university of the student's choice, universities and faculties ought not to be allowed to select their own students.

The laws of supply and demand must surely introduce a competitive element that could do the universities and their graduates nothing but good.

They must also, he added, benefit those who rely on a university output of well-trained and highly-motivated graduates.

The establishment of private universities was a further step in the direction of more competition.

The *Verband* was particularly interested in improving the career prospects of junior grades of academic teaching staff. Academic chairs had been endowed with a view to promoting university research.

Dr Liesen listed specific tax provisions he felt were essential if the organisation's work was to be further encouraged.

One-off donors must enjoy the same tax status as regular donors (such as by deed of covenant).

Private assets must be freely transferrable to a charitable foundation, subject only to the general provisions that applied to the running of foundations.

Both moves could give charitable foundations a welcome fillip.

Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi of Hamburg, welcoming the AGM to the city, said priority must be given to future-oriented tasks in view of the shortage of public funds.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 May 1988)

Continued from page 11

touring exhibition — it is scheduled to visit 77 venues. But such an undertaking must be measured against the claims made in a major city such as Berlin with museums and exhibitions of its own.

At this point the incomprehensible activities of officialdom concerned with cultural affairs comes into it in Berlin.

All the Goya etching cycles are kept safe in the Dahlem copperplate gallery. They could be presented, but there is a catastrophic lack of staff and no appropriate catalogue.

An exhibition is planned, but supposedly routine work of this kind cannot be extolled as a major cultural event, as was the case in the Goya exhibition imported, so suitable for media attention.

Goya in Berlin. One only has to make a trip to Dahlem and have the political will to take care of the property already there, instead of angling for applause.

Bernhard Schulz

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 4 May 1988)

Euro students make a point with a long run

Three dozen students spent a week running a 920-km (578-mile) relay race from London to Reutlingen for the idea of a united Europe.

Today's students are likely to be tomorrow's executives, and their work will almost inevitably have much to do with the idea for which they risked painfully blistered feet: a united Europe with neither tariff barriers nor national rivalry.

They ran for Europe from the Middlesex Polytechnic in London to the Reutlingen College of Technology and Economics.

They passed en route the intellectual and administrative centres of the European idea: Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg.

Guided tours of European institutions and meetings with politicians were part of the programme.

"Running for Europe," said one competitor, Georg Kerschbaumer, a young Austrian student, "is naturally a strictly idealistic concept. We simply want to do something for European integration."

Jan Felton from Bournemouth, England, outlines in fluent German other ideas that were part of the project.

They designed European clocks, with a clockface consisting of the flags of the 12 member-countries. They practised Anglo-French-German-Spanish friendship. They mailed over 500 letters to European companies.

There can be no doubt that the Euro-students are even better at public relations than at long-distance running.

That may be less surprising than it seems. Kerschbaumer, who passed his *Abitur*, or university entrance exam, in Düsseldorf, was one of 1,700 applicants for a place at Reutlingen last year.

Eighty were selected. Their average grade was 1.4. Jan Felton stood a slightly better chance at the Middlesex Poly, where roughly the same number applied for 100 places.

Great things are expected of them when they graduate. The EPBS, or European Partnership of Business Schools, is highly rated.

It is a partnership of four schools, in London, Reutlingen, Reims and Madrid, with uniform courses that differ from those offered by national universities in two respects.

The courses are designed to be as closely related to practice as possible. They are also geared to the requirements of a common European future.

Applicants must be fluent in at least one foreign language. Students spend four semesters, or half their course, at one of the other three schools. They also spend two semesters as business trainees.

They are awarded two diplomas, one by each country. So graduates are often snapped up by prospective employers before they take their final exams.

Jan Felton even briefed Mrs Thatcher on the race, bearing in mind that as an MP she cannot afford to ignore her constituents.

As a voter in Finchley, Mrs Thatcher's London constituency, Jan Felton is firmly convinced Mrs Thatcher will answer his letter.

Reinhart Häcker

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 6 May 1988)

■ HORIZONS

Frau Bauer, the lone miller of Riedering, is the youngest in a dying trade

The number of flourmills in the Federal Republic has declined from 30,000 in 1950 to about 1,600 last year. Big automated mills have taken over. But despite this decline, there are small mills which are keeping their heads above water. In this article for the Bonn daily, *Die Welt*, Harald Scheidt looks at a flourmill in south Germany run by one person, a 22-year-old woman, and examines what it is that makes her customers line up for flour.

Now that spring is truly here and there are no more frosts, Annelie Bauer can sleep at night.

Frau Bauer, 22, is the youngest master miller in the country. Her greatest worry in winter is that the all-important generator might freeze up.

The mill, in Riedering, a village near Rosenheim in southern Bavaria not far from the Austrian border, has been in the Wagenstaller family for 60 years. Anton Wagenstaller was her father. She has been running the mill alone since he died.

So she is doing what most of her colleagues first get a chance to do at 25 or 26 at the earliest.

She is also one of the few women who become millers. It is getting harder and harder all the time because every year, the number of flourmills declines.

In 1950, there were 30,000 of them. By 1978, this had declined to a mere 2,815. In the financial year 1986-87, 30 closed, leaving just 1,637 to produce the flour for the bread of the nation.

The Wagenstaller flourmill is the sole survivor of three in the area. Frau Bauer says the supermarkets are causing the problems. They don't get their bread from the local bakeries, those within a 20-kilometre radius, which are the Wagenstaller mill's main customers. They go to large suppliers outside the area.

On the other hand, more and more housewives and people who like baking bread are going to small corner shops to buy what is available there.

There are about 300 different products: wholemeal and wheat flour, millet, sesame seed, unripe spelt grain and mueslis.

Frau Bauer says this change in buying habit is not only because of the increased awareness of the need for healthy eating, but also the quality and service that are being offered.

She says: "If a baker rings me on Saturday afternoon because he is running short of flour, then naturally he gets more flour."

But the birth of her son a year ago has slowed the pace of work. She starts now at eight in the morning instead of at seven or even earlier. But there is always stress before she goes on holiday because flour has to be produced in advance, so she sometimes has to step up the work rate, even at weekends.

The cleaning and milling, the mixing and the packing, the work in the dusty atmosphere can at such times become a drudge — even though flourmills these days are no longer places where heavy physical work takes place.

The only work today requiring any significant amount of physical effort is installing the transmission belts.

These belts are the means by which the grain is carried up again and again on an ingenious system of belts and lifts where it is sieved and milled and sieved and milled.

The procedure is repeated 12 times before the grain disappears into sacks in the form of flour.

The generator supplanted the waterwheel as long as 80 years ago. It delivers power for both the mill and for Frau Bauer's home.

Every week, six tons of grain are milled, quite an achievement for a small family works.

But the generator is not the only sign that the romantic image of clickclacking mill by gurgling brook, of creaking water wheel and flapping windmill vanes, are well and truly a thing of the past.

Even the millstone has long since gone. It has been replaced by metal drums.

But the Wagenstaller mill is merely a tradesman's workshop when compared to a large, fully automatic industrial flourmill.

Such a major mill can process 30,000 tons a year with a staff of 15 — and with just 10 of those 15 actually working in the milling process itself.

A spokesman for a millers' organisation says: "The other five wander round with oilcans keeping an eye on things.

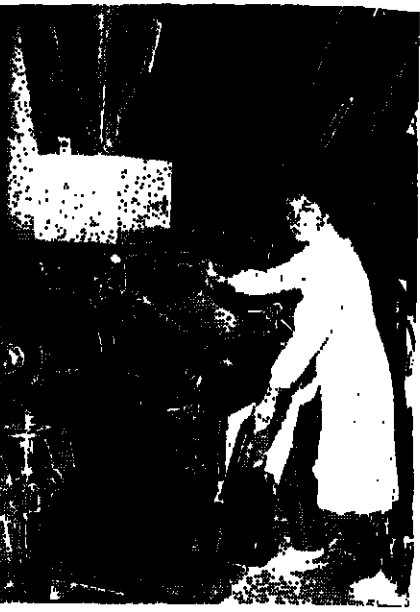
"A mill today is an industrial operation that almost doesn't need people to run it."

Annelie Bauer was the only girl among many boys in her vocational school class. She had no difficulty with anything during her training, not on the technical side, nor with book-keeping, not with nutrition.

And for the queue of customers at her mill, the rule has always been the same: first come, first served.

Harald Scheidt

(Die Welt, Bonn, 3 May 1988)



Six tons of grain a week . . . Annelie Bauer. (Photo: Viktoria Pachstein)

The bicycle courier: going where no car has gone before

A spirit of individual initiative is in the air in these days of unemployment. Firms either going to the wall or trimming back are throwing people on to the street. Young qualified people are coming on to the market and finding that they are not getting a chance to get off the street in the first place. So if you can't get off the street, then it's better to become streetwise: start a clothing-repair service (shirt buttons for the bachelor), type correspondence at home, use your private car for parcel deliveries — or your bicycle to deliver letters and parcels. Bicycle postal services are becoming more and more popular as an efficient means of getting urban deliveries made quickly, within an hour or two. In this article for *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Margret Rilling looks at a firm that has been started up in Stuttgart by two former students, both only 22.

The bicycle courier, the environmentally friendly way of getting things delivered from A to B, is taking off in the cities of Germany.

Bicycle couriers have been pedalling in Germany for about two years. This mode of delivery is catching on because of the amount of time that motorised traffic moves slowly or not at all in a society where traffic is not decreasing.

Gaby Bäuerle, 22, is a former economics student. Together with another 22year-old, Axel Bross, she has founded a bicycle courier service in Stuttgart. It is called Die Radler (The Cyclist).

"We think that there is a need to use not only vehicles that make a noise and pump out gas," she says. "We are the first to try using bicycles in an area that is hilly."

So far they have five cyclists on the rounds, two women and three men. They spend hours delivering, carrying up to 10 kilos in packages — letters, films, flowers, anything.

They use a bicycle that is constructed for rough country areas. It has small tyres and 18 gears. The rider sits upright and is said to have a better view of traffic than on a racing bicycle.

Each bicycle costs 1,700 marks. Each courier wears a crash helmet. A trial run convinces that this way, a rider can easily get around and over the humps and bumps of Stuttgart's streets.

They are adamant, though, that the city's cycle path system should be improved. That would encourage many more people to use their bicycles.

They say that often the cyclist can only reach the destination by using heavily used streets. The courier service never uses pedestrian zones.

"That would slow us right down," says Bross. "And we want to avoid the situation that has developed in Munich, where cycle couriers have the reputation of being hooligans who barge their way all over the town and knock down pedestrians."

It is 9 am. The place: Forststrasse 137. The courier sprints from the fifth floor — the apartment is his office — down the stairs. The bicycle is leaning in the lobby ready to ride.

Destination: the central post office. A safe-deposit box has to be emptied and the contents taken to Olgastrasse.

Half an hour later, another call. Some bicycle parts have to be taken from a wholesaler in Stotzstrasse to a bicycle shop in Lerchenstrasse.

Another caller wants something brought to a centre outside the city and asks if it might not be too far. It isn't. Frank would be sent. Frank, 19, is a student who earns pocket money working spare time with the service.

He is also an enthusiastic cyclist who has quickly become known, appreciatively, among the crew as "das Tier" (The Animal) because he is said to be able to pedal up a steep street called the Neue Weinsteige just as fast as he can pedal down it.

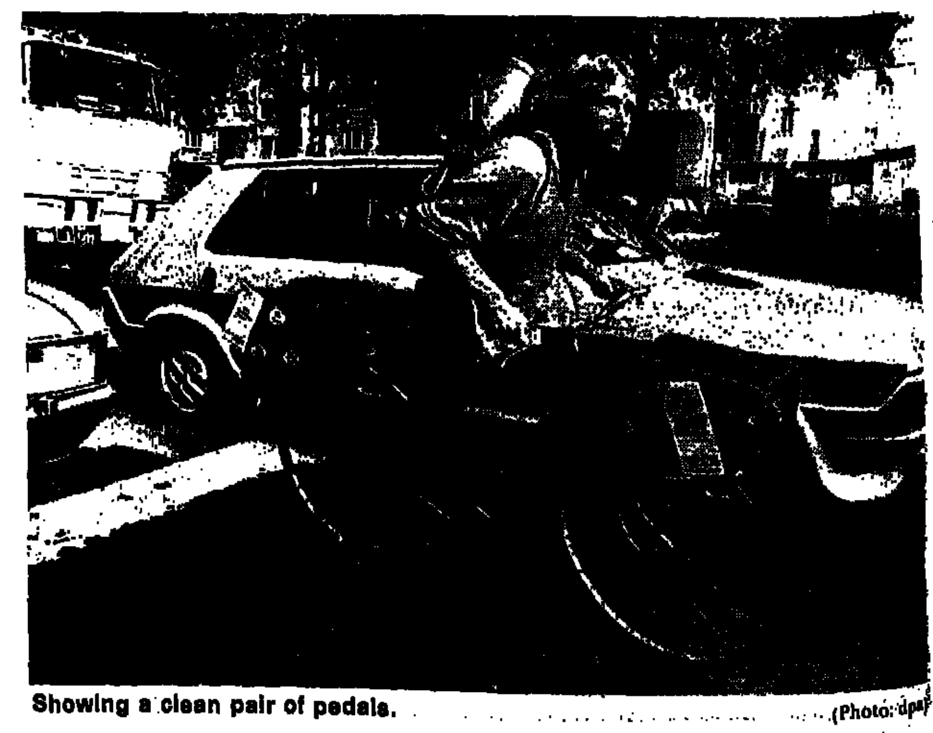
What does the service cost? In the inner city, a delivery can be made for six marks. The further out, the more expensive.

The service eventually hopes to be able to have couriers at various strategic parts of the city so that an item can be passed on from one courier in one borough to another in the next borough to facilitate quick delivery.

That, however, is a development which lies very much in the future.

Margret Rilling

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 May 1988)



Showing a clean pair of pedals. (Photo: dpa)

■ FRONTIERS

Change in interpretation of laws on committing people into care

In future the courts will not be allowed to make public statements that a person has been certified because of alcoholism or squandermania. The regulations governing the code of civil procedure, which obliged courts to make this information public, have been declared unconstitutional and invalid by a ruling from the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe. This regulation was an intrusion into a certified person's individual rights, the court ruled.

There are still archaic laws in operation in the Federal Republic. There are people who have lived a life doing all the right things and then suddenly they are shut out of our society.

These old people can no longer vote. They cannot marry. If they write a will it is invalid.

They are not allowed to have pocket-money. They are not allowed to make any purchases whatsoever. We call them "decrepit" or "light in the head" and take them out of the stream of life, break up their homes and send them off to a home.

There, more often than not, they are tethered by the feet during the day and strapped in bed at night.

On the door there is a notice, "Psychiatric Ward," and in the legal text books this is "a grey zone."

Their misfortunes have until now been published in official announcements in the press, stating that a certain person of a particular address "has been committed to (then the name of the hospital) at his (or her) own cost because of alcoholism." Then there is the date and the name of the local district court.

This is a question of valid guardianship. Year after year 3,000 people are certified — because of alcoholism or drug addiction, mental disturbance or squandermania — for an unlimited period of time.

They are given ridiculous medical treatment with brutish meticulousness. The mentally-ill are treated as if they were children below the age of seven. The mentally-undeveloped as children over the age of seven.

They become wards of the court, administered by a guardian.

Handicapped people who are put into medical care, do not fare any better. The appropriate legislation is only concerned with their property. The personal rights of the decrepit, the psychically-ill and the mentally-incapacitated wither away on the fringes of the law.

There is here a mass phenomenon concerning life today, but which will undoubtedly be a problem tomorrow as well.

There are at present 250,000 people in guardianship or in medical care in the Federal Republic. The number of people over the age of 60 is expected to increase from the present 20 per cent of the total population to 35 per cent over the next 40 years.

Latest forecasts give men who reach the age of 60 an average further life expectancy of 16.9 years and women 21.4 years.

Increasing life expectancy means that much more will have to be allocated for helping and caring for people at the end of their lives.

The Federal Constitutional Court has taken a small step forward. The court has declared that the regulation in the code of civil procedure, which stipulated that a public announcement had to be made in cases of certification because of alcoholism or squandermania, was unconstitutional.

But for a long time there has been a need for a bigger step forward, that is to declare that the law concerning certification of a person and putting a handicapped person into medical care should be declared contrary to the concept of rehabilitation and unconstitutional.

This is legislation of the old rigid school. It gives help only to the extent that previously the law limited a person's rights. There are no possibilities for combining further participation in society along with someone to care for the person concerned.

To the credit of local district courts it can be said that over the past few years they have tried more and more to wring more humane treatment for people from the laws currently on the statute book.

Where the law calls for certification in all its aspects the courts have, where possible, turned to putting people into (obligatory) care, in which certification only affects a few areas of life.

Obviously district courts cannot alter fundamentally the law. The law is concerned with property and ignores the person. Frequently the guardian in the district court secretariat or the nurse in a local government office handles more than 100 cases.

This should be changed. The Justice Ministry has been working on new draft legislation. The law concerning guardianship or care of adults would be put on a completely new basis.

Certification would be abolished and the new legislation is a lot more than just reformulating the old legislation.

The new guardianship regulation would be more flexible, empowering the judge to find a particular solution for a specific illness in individual cases.

This could be one of the most revolutionary changes to the law that has taken place over the past 100 years. It is necessary that this should be passed into law quickly.

From the legal point of view everything has been prepared. Going from anonymous guardianship administration to personal care does not call for regulations only money and qualified people.

There have been far too few people prepared to help handicapped people in the past. Care should not be official or institutionalised, an arrangement in which an elderly person is continuously having to get used to new people.

It will be decisive for implementing the reforms for the spirit of the reform to awaken a greater readiness to help.

In Austria "trustee associations" were formed for this purpose, headed by government officials. There should be no new associations here.

Why should not officials be used who have the merit of having already made known their willingness to look after elderly people or who have for many years looked after the elderly?

Sometimes the spirit of reform has to be given a helping hand.

Heribert Prantl

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 2 May 1988)

Reassurance that old people can remain mentally alert

Kieler Nachrichten

Elderly people need not fear that their mental abilities in old age would decline," said Professor Paul B. Baltes.

Psychologist Professor Baltes, 49, is the director of the Max Planck Institute for Education Research in Berlin, and he has an answer.

It is a matter of taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of advanced years, concentrating on a few areas of interest and devoting oneself to them whole-heartedly.

For some years Professor Baltes has been dealing with problems concerning the aged. In his view, with the constantly increasing number of old people in the population, dealing with the elderly and their needs successfully will become an increasingly important problem in our society.

The Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden reported that in 1966 their were approximately nine million people of pensionable age in the Federal Republic, or 15 per cent of the total population. In 1970 there were about a million people less.

In 1986 in Hamburg and Berlin 18 per cent of the population was made up of elderly people, well over the national average.

Baltes said that physical and mental health throughout life and contentment with life were vital criteria for a successful old age.

A life-style, aware of the needs of good health, fostering contacts between people and independent mental development, helped lengthen life. Reserves for living were not exhausted.

Baltes said his institute in Berlin had come to be regarded as a centre of gerontological research. Investigations had shown that old people had considerable mental reserves to match those of younger adults.

Speaking at a medical congress in Lübeck Professor Baltes said that "Only by active training can old people retain their intelligence and memory."

Younger people going through similar training learned faster but in wisdom and a knowledge of life older people were superior.

Dr Herbert Haug, professor of anatomy at Lübeck, refuted the long-held scientific view that the number of nerve cells in the brain declined as people grew older.

According to his experience it was rather the volume that declined resulting in more difficulty in forming new combinations. But stored experience remained.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 24 April 1988)

Homes for aged 'should allow pets'

Old people should be allowed to bring their pets into old people's homes, according to research carried out by the German Help the Aged Committee, based in Cologne.

Dr Sigrid Lohmann, director of the organisation, said that pets could considerably enhance the quality of life for elderly people.

She said: "Permission to bring pets with them when moving into an old people's home was something positive that helped cancel out the negative aspects of the move."

The Cologne committee was founded by Wilhelmine Lübke, wife of the second president of the Federal Republic, Heinrich Lübke. In its surveys the committee has established that in most old people's homes pets were strictly forbidden.

Exceptions are made for birds and fish. Dogs and cats were allowed in only a couple of dozen homes, in Munich alone eight.

Of the 470,000 people who are in old people's and nursing homes 53,000 of them had to part with their pets.

The main reason given why pets are not allowed in homes is that the other residents would be disturbed by the noise the animals made.

The Help the Aged Committee's research showed, however, that a dog's barking was preferred to sepulchral quiet.

Concern about hygiene was also discovered to be groundless in most cases. Over-worked nursing home personnel feared that pets would mean more work when a resident could not look after his or her pet because of illness.

Dr Lohmann said: "In most cases other residents are prepared to help with pets in these circumstances."

In America experience has shown that pets do not mean more work for the home's personnel, but that they do contribute to an improvement of the atmosphere in the home and make the residents happier.

In a survey of previous experience the committee came to the conclusion that pets give their owners exercise. They also give at close hand a sense of the living world and they give affection.

When an old person is allowed to take a pet into a home or nursing home he or she finds it easier to get used to strange surroundings. During illness thoughts about a cat or a dog pet strengthen the will to live.

Animals are an important contact bridge. The survey showed many touching examples of dogs who stood on guard over an owner who was severely ill and that the patient had moments of happiness when able to stroke his or her pet.

Several homes have had pleasant results from "home pets," which belong not to one resident but to all the residents.

In the Wilhelmsburg district of Hamburg there is a home that has a "home cat," and in a home in Cologne there is a basset hound named Sally which is the "home dog."

An alsatian dog in a Bielefeld home named Anja has been given official recognition in writing. The dog, a female, is tax-deductable as a "therapy dog."

Horst Zimmermann

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